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STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1886
OF WISCONSIN.

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RICHARD WATSON,

Bishop of Landaff.

Published December 8th 1817 by T. Cadell & W. Davies Strand London.

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ANECDOTES

OF

THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD WATSON,

BISHOP OF LANDAFF;

WRITTEN

BY HIMSELF AT DIFFERENT INTERVALS,

AND

REVISED IN 1814.

PUBLISHED BY HIS SON,

RICHARD WATSON, LL.B.

PREBENDARY OF LANDAFF AND WELLS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;

BY J. M'CREERY, BLACK-HORSE-COURT.

1817.

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ANECDOTES OF THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD WATSON,

BISHOP OF LANDAFF.

IT has been a custom with me, from a very early age, to put down in writing the most important events of my life, with an account of the motives which, on any occasion of moment, influenced my conduct. This habit has been both pleasant and useful to me; I have had great pleasure in preserving, as it were, my identity, by reviewing the circumstances which, under the good Providence of God, have contributed to place me in my present situation; and a frequent examination of my principles of action has contributed to establish in me a consistency of conduct, and to confirm me, I trust, in that probity of manners in my seventy-fifth year with which I entered into the world at the age of seventeen. My health has been for several years precarious; and the faculty have long ago left my constitution to struggle with a disorder which first seized me in 1781. The body and mind, I begin to perceive, are both of them losing their activity; the *evil days* are coming on in which men usually

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say, *there is no pleasure in them;* may I not be allowed, then, without incurring the imputation of vanity, to live, in a manner, an happy life (for which I am most thankful to its Author) over again, by collecting and arranging some of the detached papers which I have written at different periods? By this means my children, when I am in my grave, may be gratified with knowing the character of their father; and the world, if it has any curiosity concerning him, will have an opportunity of perusing authentic, if not interesting, Memoirs of the Bishop of Landaff.

All families being of equal antiquity, and time and chance so happening to all, that kings become beggars, and beggars become kings; no solid reason, I think, can be given, why any man should derive honour or infamy from the station which his ancestors filled in civil society; yet the contrary opinion is so prevalent, that no words need be employed in proving that it is so.—German and Welch pedigrees are subjects of ridicule to most Englishmen; yet those amongst ourselves who cannot inscribe on the trunk of their genealogical tree the name of a peer, bishop, judge, general, of any person elevated above the rank of ordinary citizens, are still desirous of showing that they are not sprung from the dregs of the people. Without entering into a disquisition concerning the rise of this general prejudice, I freely own that I am, on this occasion, a slave to it myself. I feel a satisfaction in knowing that my ancestors, as far as I can trace them, have neither been *hewers of wood,* or *drawers of water,* but *ut prisca gens mortalium*—tillers of their *own* ground, in the idiom of the country, *Statesmen.*

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I was born at Heversham, in Westmoreland, in August, 1737. and always retained a strong partiality for the place of my nativity. My father was born at Hardendale, near Shap, in the same county, in the year 1672. His father, grandfather, great grandfather, &c. were natives of the same place; and, according to the *then* simplicity of the times, they preserved their innocence, and maintained their independence, by cultivating a small estate of their own. It appears from Grose's Antiquities, that, when the Monastery of Shap was dissolved by Henry the Eighth, of the thirteen monks who were in it, two had the name of Watson. These ecclesiastics were probably dedicated to the church by some of my progenitors, and I can give no further account of any of them, except I mention the tradition, that the first of the family, who settled near Shap, came from Scotland.

My grandfather's little patrimony was inherited by my father's elder brother, who died, leaving only daughters: and it is, I believe, without having suffered alienation, still in the possession of their descendants. In 1698, my father was appointed headmaster of Heversham School, which he taught with great reputation for nearly forty years. If schoolmasters may properly be allowed to participate in the honours of those whom they have educated, the greatest honour of my father's life will be the education of Ephraim Chambers. In Heversham Church, adjoining to the chancel, there is an inscription "In memory of "Mary, the wife of Richard Chambers, who died in the year 1684, "which Richard was father of Ephraim Chambers, author of the "celebrated Dictionary of Arts and Sciences."—I have seen among my father's papers two school-exercises, the one in Latin,

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the other in Greek, signed Chambers. These circumstances render it probable that the author of the dictionary was not, as has been said of him, merely educated to qualify him for trade and commerce. There are two exhibitions (now of 50*l.* a year each) belonging to this school, one to Trinity College in Cambridge, and the other to Queen's College, Oxford. I succeeded my school-fellow Mr. Preston in the enjoyment of that to Trinity College, and when we were both of us Bishops in 1788, we agreed, at a joint expense, to repair the school-house, which was much dilapidated. I then drew up the following inscription, to be kept as a token of our regard for the place of our education, and as a tribute of respect to the memory of its pious founder, and to that of my father, under whom Mr. Preston had received his first rudiments:—

Hanc Scholam fundavit
Amplisque Reditibus annuis dotavit
Edvardus Wilson
De Heversham-Hall Armiger
MDCXIII
Elapsis centum et amplius annis
Sepe et vallo conclusit
Et circumcirca Arboribus consitis condecoravit
Thomas Watson
Ab anno 1698^vo^ usque ad annum 1737^um^
ΟΥΚ Ο ΤΥΧΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ
Vetustate tandem fere collapsam
Suis Sumptibus refici curaverunt
Ejusdem olim simul alumni
Ricardus Watson Episcopus Landavensis
et
Gulielmus Preston Episcopus Fernensis
MDCCLXXXVIII

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The success of every school depends upon the ability and industry of the master, and the reputation of this soon sunk with my father's resignation of it, which took place before I was born. I was never at any other, and have had cause, through life, to regret my not having had a better classical foundation. It has fallen to my lot, not only to be obliged to write, but to speak Latin, and having never been taught to make Latin or Greek verses, it cost me more pains to remember whether a syllable was long or short, than it would have done to comprehend a whole section of *Newton's Principia.* My mind indeed recoiled from such enquiries; what imports it, I used to say to myself, whether *Cicero* would have said *fortuīto* or *fortuĭto—Areopăgus* or *Areopāgus?* and yet I was forced to attend to such things; for a Westminster or an Eton schoolmaster would properly have thought meanly of a man who did not know them. My hands have shaken with impatience and indignation, when I have been consulting Ainsworth or Labbe about a point, which I was certain of forgetting in a month's time. But as I never could remember the face or name of a man or woman whose character did not strike me, so I found it difficult to impress on my memory rules of prosody which I had acquired a contempt for; nor did this contempt arise so much from my ignorance of the subject (for I had, after leaving school, taken great pains not to be ignorant of it), as from the undue importance which was given to it. I was confirmed in this sentiment by observing, that the greatest adepts in syllables were not exempt from mistakes. I remember two of the best scholars in the university, Rutherforth and Sumner, in the course of a few weeks, pronouncing in the senate-house the *penultimam* of

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μακαρίτης long and short. On another occasion my friend Mr. Wilson, of Peterhouse, (afterwards one of the best black-letter judges in England,) having kept under me a very good act in the divinity schools, was censured by two great classics, Bishop of Peterborough and Dr. Symonds, for having read *abolĭta* instead of, as they thought, *abolīta*. Even the very learned Mr. Bryant, with whom I was conversing in 1802, on the subject of man's redemption, spoke of *Jesus* as the μεσῖτης of the new covenant; on my expressing a doubt as to the quantity of the middle syllable, he said no more; but on his going to Eton (that noble mart of metre) he sent me word that it ought to be pronounced μεσῖτης from its analogy to ὁδῖτης, for which he had found authority. Had my father's faculties remained unimpaired till I had been sent to the University, it is probable that I should have had no occasion to lament a defective education in prosody, for he was esteemed an excellent grammarian, and in his time boys were prepared for the University, by being taught at school to converse in Latin. I once overheard an old man who had been his scholar say in a passion, to his fellow-labourer, *Frangam tibi caput*——but enough of such things: from not being used to them in my youth, I may think of them with less respect than I ought. My father died in November, 1753, and had been afflicted much with a palsy for several years before. I have heard him ask twenty times in a day, what is the name of the lad that is at College? (my elder brother;) and yet he was able to repeat, without a blunder, hundreds of lines out of classic authors. This reminiscence of ideas, formerly impressed on the brain, and forgetfulness of recent ones, is no unusual circumstance attending a paralysis, though our physiology is not yet

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enough advanced, to enable us to account for it. Soon after the death of my father, I was sent to the University, and admitted a Sizar of Trinity College in Cambridge, on the 3d of November, 1754. I did not know a single person in the University, except my tutor, Mr. Backhouse, who had been my father's scholar, and Mr. Preston, who had been my own schoolfellow. I commenced my academic studies with great eagerness, from knowing that my future fortune was to be wholly of my own fabricating, being certain that the slender portion which my father had left to me (300*l.*) would be barely sufficient to carry me through my education. I had no expectations from relations; indeed I had not a relation so near as a first cousin in the world, except my mother, and a brother and sister who were many years older than me. My mother's maiden name was Newton; she was a very charitable and good woman, and I am indebted to her (I mention it with filial piety) for imbuing my young mind with principles of religion, which have never forsaken me. Erasmus, in his little treatise entitled *Antibarbarorum*, says that the safety of states depends upon three things—Upon a proper or improper education of the prince, upon public preachers, and upon schoolmasters; and he might with equal reason have added, upon mothers; for the care of the mother precedes that of the schoolmaster, and may stamp upon the *rasa tabula* of the infant mind, characters of virtue and religion which no time can efface.

I had not been six months in college before a circumstance happened to me, trivial in itself and not fit to be noticed, except that it had some influence on my future life, inasmuch as it gave me a turn to metaphysical disquisition. It was then the custom

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in Trinity College (I am sorry it is not the custom still) for all the undergraduates to attend immediately after morning prayers the college-lecturers at different tables in the hall, during term-time. The lecturers explained to their respective classes certain books, such as *Puffendorf de Officio Hominis et Civis,* Clarke on the Attributes, Locke's Essay, Duncan's Logic, &c., and once a week the head-lecturer examined all the students. The question put to me by the head-lecturer was, Whether *Clarke* had demonstrated the absurdity of an infinite succession of changeable and dependent beings? I answered, with blushing hesitation, *Non.* The head-lecturer, Brocket, with great good-nature, mingled with no small surprise, encouraged me to give my reasons for thinking so. I stammered out in barbarous Latin (for the examination was in that language), That Clarke had enquired into the *origin* of a series which, being from the supposition *eternal,* could have no origin; and into the *first* term of a series which, being from the supposition *infinite,* could have no first. From this circumstance I was soon cried up, very undeservedly, as a great metaphysician. When four years afterwards, I took my bachelor's degree, Dr. Law, then master of Peterhouse, and one of the best metaphysicians of his time, sent for me, and desired that we might become acquainted. From my friendship with that excellent man, I derived much knowledge and liberality of sentiment in theology; and I shall ever continue to think my early intimacy with him a fortunate event in my life.

Perceiving that the sizars were not so respectfully looked upon by the pensioners and scholars of the house, as they ought to have been, inasmuch as the most learned and leading men in the Uni-

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versity have ever arisen from that order, (*Magister artis, ingenique largitor venter*) I offered myself for a scholarship a year before the usual time of the sizars sitting, and succeeded, on the 2d of May, 1757. This step increased my expenses in college, but it was attended with a great advantage. It was the occasion of my being particularly noticed by Dr. *Smith*, the then Master of the College. He was, from the examination he gave me, so well satisfied with the progress I had made in my studies, that out of the sixteen who were elected scholars, he appointed me to a particular scholarship (Lady Jermyn's) then vacant, and in his own disposal; not, he said to me, as being better than other scholarships, but as a mark of his approbation; he recommended *Saunderson's Fluxions*, then just published, and some other mathematical books, to my perusal, and gave, in a word, a spur to my industry, and wings to my ambition.

I had, at the time of being elected a scholar, been resident in college for two years and seven months, without having gone out of it for a single day. During that period I had acquired some knowledge of Hebrew; greatly improved myself in Greek and Latin; made considerable proficiency in mathematics and natural philosophy; and studied with much attention Locke's works, King's book on the Origin of Evil, Puffendorf's Treatise *de Officio Hominis et Civis*, and some other books on similar subjects; I thought myself therefore entitled to a little relaxation: under this persuasion I set forward, May 30th, 1757, to pay my elder and only brother a visit at Kendal. He was the first curate of the new chapel there, to the structure of which he had subscribed liberally. He was a man of lively parts, but being

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thrown into a situation where there was no great room for the display of his talents, and much temptation to convivial festivity, he spent his fortune, injured his constitution, and died when I was about the age of thirty-three; leaving a considerable debt, all of which I paid immediately, though it took almost my all to do it.

My mind did not much relish the country, at least it did not relish the life I led in that country-town; the constant reflection that I was idling away my time mixed itself with every amusement, and poisoned all the pleasures I had promised myself from this visit; I therefore took an hasty resolution of shortening it, and returned to College in the beginning of September, with a determined purpose to make my *Alma Mater* the mother of my fortunes. *That*, I well remember, was the expression I used to myself, as soon as I saw the turrets of King's College Chapel, as I was jogging on a jaded nag between Huntingdon and Cambridge.

I was then only a *junior soph*; yet two of my acquaintance of the year below me, thought that I knew so much more of mathematics than they did, that they importuned me to become their private tutor. To one of them (Mr. Luther) it will be seen hereafter how much I am indebted; and with the other (Dr. Strachey) I have maintained through life an uninterrupted friendship. May I meet them both in Heaven! I undoubtedly wished to have had my time to myself, especially till I had taken my degree; but the narrowness of my circumstances, accompanied with a disposition to expense, or, more properly speaking, with a

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desire to appear respectably, induced me to comply with their request. From that period, for above thirty years of my life, and as long as my health lasted, a considerable portion of my time was spent in instructing others without much instructing myself, or in presiding at disputations in philosophy or theology, from which, after a certain time, I derived little intellectual improvement.

Whilst I was an under-graduate, I kept a great deal of *what is called* the best company—that is of idle fellow-commoners, and other persons of fortune—but their manners never subdued my prudence; I had strong ambition to be distinguished, and was sensible that, though wealth might plead some excuse for idleness, extravagance, and folly in others, the want of wealth could plead none for me.

When I used to be returning to my room at one or two in the morning, after spending a jolly evening, I often observed a light in the chamber of one of the same standing with myself; this never failed to excite my jealousy, and the next day was always a day of hard study. I have gone without my dinner a hundred times on such occasions. I thought I never entirely understood a proposition in any part of mathematics or natural philosophy, till I was able in a solitary walk, *obstipo capite atque exporrecto labello*, to draw the scheme in my head, and go through every step of the demonstration without book or pen and paper. I found this was a very difficult task, especially in some of the perplexed schemes, and long demonstrations of the Twelfth Book of *Euclid*, and in *L'Hopital's* Conic Sections, and in *Newton's Principia*. My walks for this purpose were so frequent, that my tutor,

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not knowing what I was about, once reproached me for being a lounger. I never gave up a difficult point in a demonstration till I had made it out *proprio Marte;* I have been stopped at a single step for three days. This perseverance in accomplishing whatever I undertook, was, during the whole of my active life, a striking feature in my character, so much so that Dr. Powell, the Master of St. John's College, said to a young man, a pupil of mine, for whom I was prosecuting an appeal which I had lodged with the visiter against the College, — "Take my advice, "sir, and go back to your curacy, for your tutor is a man "of perseverance, not to say obstinacy." After a perseverance however of nearly three years, the appeal was determined against the College; the young man (Mr. Russel) was put in possession of the Furness Fell Fellowship, which I had claimed for him, as a propriety-fellowship; and the college was fined 50*l.* for having elected another into it. It would be for the public good if all propriety-fellowships, in both Universities, were laid open; and Dr. Powell (for whose memory I have great veneration) was, I doubt not, influenced by the same opinion, when he attempted to set aside this propriety; Dr. Kipling, whom he had elected into it, being in ability far superior to Mr. Russel: but the legislature alone is competent to make such a change, and till it is made by proper authority, the will of every founder ought to be attended to.

But though I stuck closely to abstract studies, I did not neglect other things. I every week imposed upon myself a task of composing a theme or a declamation in Latin or English. I had great pleasure in lately finding among my papers, two of

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these declamations, one in English, the other Latin; there is nothing excellent in either of them, yet I cannot help valuing them, as they are not only the first of my compositions of which I have any memorial remaining, but as they show that a long commerce in the public world has only tended to confirm that political bent of my mind in favour of civil liberty, which was formed in it before I knew of what selfish and low-minded materials the public world was made.

The subject of the English declamation is, "Let tribunes be granted to the Roman people;" that of the Latin, "*Sociis Italicis detur civitas:*" both of them were suggested to my mind from the perusal of *Vertot's Roman Revolutions*, a book which accidentally fell into my hands. Were such kind of books put into the hands of kings during their boy-hood, and Tory trash at no age recommended to them, kings in their manhood would scorn to aim at arbitrary power through corrupted parliaments.

I generally studied mathematics in the morning, and classics in the afternoon; and used to get by heart such parts of orations either in Greek or Latin as particularly pleased me. Demosthenes was the orator, Tacitus the historian, and Perseus the satirist, whom I most admired.

I have mentioned this mode of study, not as thinking that there was any thing extraordinary in it, since there were many under-graduates then, and have always been many in the University of Cambridge, and for aught I know, in Oxford too, who have taken greater pains. But I mention it, because I feel a

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complacence in the recollection of days long since happily spent; *hoc est vivere bis vitâ posse priori frui*, and indulge an hope, that the perusal of what I have written may chance to drive away the spirit of indolence and dissipation from young men; especially from those who enter into the world with as slender a provision as I did. I will mention another circumstance, which happened to me before I took my first degree, that I may put young men upon their guard against self-sufficiency of opinion, and induce them to make, at a more mature age, a cool examination into the origin of their principles and belief.

Our opinions on many important subjects are formed as much on prejudice as on reason; and when an opinion is once taken up, it is seldom changed, especially in matters not admitting any criterion of certainty. When I went to the University, I was of opinion, as most school-boys are, that the soul was a substance distinct from the body, and that when a man died, he, in classical phrase, breathed out his soul, *animam expiravit*; that it then went I knew not whither, as it had come into the body, from I knew not where, nor when; and had dwelt in the body during life, but in what part of the body it had dwelt I knew not. So deep-rooted was this notion of the flight of the soul somewhither after death, as well as of its having existed somewhere before birth, that I perfectly well remember having much puzzled my childish apprehension, before I was twelve years old, with asking myself this question,—Had I not been the son of Mr. and Mrs. Watson, whose son should I have been? The question itself was suggested in consequence of my being out of humour, at some slight correction which I had received from

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my mother. This notion of the soul was, without doubt, the offspring of prejudice and ignorance, and I must own that my knowledge of the nature of the soul is much the same now that it was then. I have read volumes on the subject, but I have no scruple in saying, that I *know* nothing about it.

Believing as I do in the truth of the Christian religion, which teaches that men are accountable for their actions, I trouble not myself with dark disquisitions concerning necessity and liberty, matter and spirit; hoping as I do for eternal life through Jesus Christ, I am not disturbed at my inability clearly to convince myself that the soul is, or is not, a substance distinct from the body. The truth of the Christian religion depends upon testimony; now man is competent to judge of the weight of testimony, though he is not able I think fully to investigate the nature of the soul; and I consider the testimony concerning the resurrection of Jesus (and that fact is the corner-stone of the Christian church) to be worthy of entire credit. I probably should never have fallen into this scepticism on so great a point, but should have lived and died with my school-boy's faith, had I not been obliged as an opponent, in the philosophical schools at Cambridge in 1758, to find arguments against the question; *Anima est suâ naturâ immortalis* — in turning over a great many books in search of arguments against this *natural* immortality of the soul, I met with an account (I do not know in what author, but there is the same, or a similar one mentioned in the French Encyclopedie not then published, art. *Mort*,) of a man who came to life after having been for six weeks under water. This account, whether true or false, suggested to me a doubt concerning the

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soul's being, as I had till then without the least hesitation conceived it to be, not a mere quality of the body, but a substance different in kind from it. I thought one might in some measure account for the restitution of motion and life, to a body considered as a machine, whose motions had been stopped without its fabric being destroyed; but I could not apprehend the possibility of recalling a soul which had left the body, with its last expiration, for the space of six weeks. I mention not this with a view of supporting the materiality of the soul, or the contrary, but merely to show upon what trifling circumstances our opinions are frequently formed;—a consideration this, which should teach us all to speak with candour of those who happen to differ from us, and to abate in ourselves that dogmatising spirit, which often impels learned men to impose on others their own inveterate prejudices as incontrovertible truths.

I argued with myself at that time, when I was fond of such speculations, in the following manner: — A table is matter, and a tree is matter; but the matter of the table is different from that of the tree which furnished the wood from which the table was made. A tree is living matter, and a table is dead matter; life then, in whatever it may be supposed to consist, is that which constitutes an essential difference between a table and a tree. Again, a tree is matter, and an oyster is matter, and both of them are living matter; yet the matter of the tree is different from that of the oyster: the matter of the tree being only (as is generally supposed) living matter, whilst that of the oyster is not only living but percipient matter; percepticity then, however it may be produced, is that which constitutes an essential difference between

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an oyster and a tree. Again, an oyster is matter, and a man is matter, and both of them are percipient matter; yet the matter of the oyster is different from the matter of the man, the matter of the oyster being only (as is generally supposed) percipient matter, whilst that of a man is not only percipient but thinking matter; the faculty of thinking, then, however it may be produced, is that which constitutes an essential difference between a man and an oyster. The essential properties of extension, solidity, mobility, divisibility, and inactivity, are common properties belonging equally to the table, the tree, the oyster, and the man; but to these common properties are added to the matter of the tree, life; to that of the oyster, life and perceptivity; to that of the man, life, perceptivity, and thought. Whether life can exist without perceptivity, or perceptivity without thought, are subtle questions, not admitting, perhaps, in our present state, a positive and clear decision either way. Physical and metaphysical difficulties present themselves on every subject, and ultimately baffle all our attempts to penetrate the darkness in which the Divine Mind envelopes his operations of nature and grace. "*Hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour do we find out the things that are before us, but the things that are in Heaven who hath searched out?*" (Wisd. of Sol. ix. 16.)

In January, 1759, I took my Bachelor of Arts' degree. The taking of this first degree is a great æra in academic life; it is that to which all the under-graduates of talents and diligence direct their attention. There is no seminary of learning in

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Europe in which youth are more zealous to excel during the first years of their education than in the University of Cambridge. This observation, however, is true only concerning those who are obliged to take their Bachelor of Arts' degree, and at the usual time; the rest being stimulated by no prospect of honour, may chance, indeed, to excel; but by a foolish custom of the University their genius is neglected; they are neither impelled by the fear of shame, nor the hope of glory, resulting from scholastic exertion.

I was the second wrangler of my year, the leading moderator having made a person of his own College, and one of his private pupils, the first, in direct opposition to the general sense of the examiners in the Senate House, who declared in my favour. The injustice which was then done me was remembered as long as I lived in the University; and the talk about it at the time did me more service than if I had been made senior wrangler. Our old master sent for me, and told me not to be discouraged, for that when the *Johnians* had the disposal of the honours, the second wrangler was always looked upon as the first.

There was more room for partiality in the distribution of honours, not only with respect to St. John's, but other Colleges, *then*, than there is now; and I attribute the change, in a great degree, to an alteration which I introduced the first year I was moderator, and which has been persevered in ever since.

At the time of taking their Bachelor of Arts' degree, the young

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men are examined in classes, and the classes are *now* formed according to the abilities shown by individuals in the schools. By this arrangement, persons of nearly equal merits are examined in the presence of each other, and flagrant acts of partiality cannot take place. Before I made this alteration, they were examined in classes, but the classes consisted of members of the same College, and the best and the worst were often examined together.

The first year I was moderator, Mr. Paley (afterwards known to the world by many excellent productions, though there are some ethical and some political principles in his philosophy which I by no means approve,) and Mr. Frere, a gentleman of Norfolk, were examined together. A report prevailed, that Mr. Frere's grandfather would give him a thousand pounds, if he were senior wrangler: the other moderator agreed with me in thinking, that Mr. Paley was his superior, and we made him senior wrangler. Mr. Frere, much to his honour, on an imputation of partiality being thrown on my colleague and myself, publicly acknowledged, that he deserved only the second place; a declaration which could never have been made, had they not been examined in the presence of each other.

Paley, I remember, had brought me for one of the questions he meant for his act, *Æternitas pœnarum contradicit Divinis attributis.* I had accepted it; and indeed I never refused a question either as moderator or as professor of divinity. A few days afterwards, he came to me in a great fright, saying, that the

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master of his College (Dr. Thomas, Dean of Ely,) had sent to him, and insisted on his not keeping on such a question. I readily permitted him to change it, and told him, that if it would lessen his master's apprehensions, he might put in *non*, before *contradicit*, and he did so. Dr. Thomas, I had little doubt, was afraid of being looked upon as an heretic at Lambeth, for suffering a member of his college to dispute on such a question, notwithstanding what *Tillotson* had published on the subject many years before.

It is, however, a subject of great difficulty. It is allowed on all hands that the happiness of the righteous will be, strictly speaking, everlasting; and I cannot see the justness of that criticism which would interpret the same word in the same verse in different senses. "And these shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into *everlasting* life." Mat. xxv. 46. On the other hand, reason is shocked at the idea of God being considered as a relentless tyrant, inflicting everlasting punishment, which answers no benevolent end. But how is it proved that the everlasting punishment of the wicked may not answer a benevolent end, may not be the mean of keeping the righteous in everlasting holiness and obedience? How is it proved that it may not answer, in some other way unknown to us, a benevolent end in promoting God's *moral* government of the *universe?*

In September, 1759, I sat for a fellowship: at that time there never had been an instance of a Fellow being elected from among

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the Junior Bachelors. The master told me this as an apology for my not being then elected, and bade me be contented till the next year. On the first of October, 1760, I was elected a Fellow of Trinity College, and put over the head of two of my seniors of the same year, who were however elected the next year. The old master, whose memory I have ever revered, when he had done examining me, paid me this compliment, which was from him a great one, — "You have done your duty to the College, it remains for the College to do theirs to you." I was elected the next day, and became assistant tutor to Mr. Backhouse in the following November.

About the same time I was offered by the Vice-Chancellor the curacy of Clermont, and advised to accept it, as it would give me an opportunity of recommending myself to the Duke of Newcastle, then Chancellor of the University: but then and always prizing my independence above all prospects, I declined accepting the offer. I might also soon after have gone chaplain to the Factory at Bencoolen, and I would have gone, but that I wanted several months of being able to take priest's orders. The master of the College hearing of my intention sent for me, and insisted on my abandoning my design, adding, in the most obliging manner, "You are far too good to die of drinking punch in the torrid zone." I had then great spirits, and by learning, as I purposed, the Persian and Arabic languages, should probably have continued but a short time chaplain to the Factory. I have thanked God for being disappointed of an opportunity of becoming an Asiatic plunderer. I might not have been able to resist

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the temptation of wealth and power to which so many of my countrymen have unhappily yielded in India.

I took my Master of Arts' degree at the commencement in 1762, and was made Moderator for Trinity College in the following October. I look upon the office of Moderator to be the most difficult to execute, and the most important to the interests of the University, when well executed, of any that there is, not excepting the Professorship of Divinity itself. If in any thing we are superior to Oxford, it is in this, that our scholastic disputations in philosophy and theology are supported with seriousness and solemnity. An evil custom has, within these few years, been introduced into the University, which will in its consequences destroy our superiority over Oxford, and leave our scholastic exercises in as miserable a state as theirs have long been. It is the custom of dining late. When I was admitted, and for many years after, every College dined at twelve o'clock, and the students after dinner flocked to the philosophical disputations, which began at two. If the schools either of philosophy or divinity shall ever be generally destitute of an audience, there will be an end of all scholastic exertion. I remember having seen the divinity-schools (when the best act (by Coulthurst and Milner — *Arcades ambo*) was keeping that I ever presided at, and which might justly be called a real academic entertainment,) filled with auditors from the top to the bottom; but as soon as the clock struck three, a number of masters of arts belonging to colleges which dined at three slunk away from this intellectual feast; and they were followed, as might have been expected, by many under-graduates, — I say as might have been

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expected, for in all seminaries of education, relaxation of discipline begins with the seniors of the society.

Some persons may contend that scholastic exercises are of no use; I think very differently; but without entering into any discussion on the subject, I will content myself with putting down some of the questions which were subjects of disputation in the *Soph*s school, in 1762. There is no one, I believe, who has a proper knowledge of these questions, but must be sensible of the utility of having young men's minds occupied in the study of such subjects. I have transcribed the questions from the Moderator's book for 1762, which I happen to have in my possession.

Objectiones in Algorithmum fluxionum quales ab analysta proponuntur falsis innituntur principiis?

Methodus primarum ac ultimarum rationum a Newtono adhibita est sana methodus ratiocinandi, et a methodo indivisibilium prorsus distincta?

Recte statuit Newtonus de motu corporum, in orbibus mobilibus versus antrum immotum attractorum?

Si corpus urgeatur motu projectili, et vi centripeta variante in reciproca duplicata ratione distantiæ, movebitur in aliqua sectionum conicarum, umbilicum habente in centro virium?

Motus planetarum omnium solvi possint ex theoria gravitatis?

Recte statuit Newtonus de motuum Lunarium inæqualibus?

Generalia æstuum phænomena solvi possint ex theoria gravitatis?

Theoria Newtoniana de caudis cometicis est admittenda?

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Motus aquæ e foramine quam minimo in fundo vasis cylindrici uniformiter prosilientis, recte definivit Newtonus?

Pulsibus per fluidum propagatis singulas fluidi particulas motu reciproco brevissimo euntes ac redeuntes, accelerari semper et retardari pro lege penduli in cycloide moventis non demonstravit Newtonus?

Pulsibus, &c. ut in antecedente propositione recte demonstravit Newtonus?

Aberrationes stellarum fixarum solvi possint ex motu lucis progressivo et motu telluris in orbitu sua?

Momenta corporum sunt ut velocitates et quantitates materiæ conjunctim?

Perforata tellure corpus intra eam movens, eadem lege acceleratur et retardatur, qua pendulum vibrans in cycloide?

Phænomina ventorum tropicorum solvi possint ex rotatione telluris circa proprium axem, et motu puncti maxime rarefacti?

Cursus ventorum inter tropicos spirantium solvitur ab Hadleio?

Projectilia, amota medii resistentia, describunt parabolas?

Phænomina terræ motuum solvi possint ab ignibus subterraneis?

Vibrationes ejusdem penduli in cycloide sunt Isochronæ?

Lunæ horizontalis phænomenon nondum solvitur?

Lunæ horizontalis phænomenon solvitur a Smithio?

Systema Copernicanum est verum mundi systema?

Recte statuit Halleius de origine fontium?

Motus solis circa proprium axem ex motu ejus macularum colligi potest?

Recte statuit Jurinus de tubis capilaribus simplicibus?

Phænomenon mercurii in barometro solvi potest ex gravitate et elasticitate aëris?

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Datur in rerum natura necessaria connexio inter judicia nostra de variis distantiis ejusdem visibilis objecti, et distantias ipsas?

Non datur in rerum, &c. ut in anteced.

Dei existentia probari potest ex eo quod est motus?

Deus ultimus est et auctor et conservator motus?

Ordo mundi probat Deum?

Dei existentia non admittit demonstrationem a priori?

Absurditatem infinitæ seriei entium dependentium non satis demonstravit Clarkius?

Omnia Dei moralia attributa ad unam ejus sapientiam recte possint referri?

Jus Dei in creaturas non solum fundatur in irresistibili ejus potentia?

Origo mali moralis solvi potest salvis Dei attributis?

Æternitas pœnarum non contradicit Divinis attributis?

Præscientia Divina non tollit libertatem agendi?

Status futurus colligi potest ex lumine naturæ?

Status futurus non, &c. ut in anteced.

Recte statuit Humius statum futurum non colligi posse ex Dei justitia?

Sublato statu futuro, nulla manet ad virtutem obligatio?

Sublato statu futuro, manet ad virtutem obligatio?

Datur sensus innatus moralis?

Non datur sensus innatus moralis?

Recte statuit Lockius de humana libertate?

Non recte statuit Lockius de humana libertate?

Voluntas non determinatur ab extra?

Moralis scientia demonstrationis est capax?

Recte statuit Berkleius de principiis humanæ scientiæ?

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Spatium non est aliquid reale?

Non dantur abstractæ ideæ?

Reales essentiæ rerum, re vera existentium nobis ignotæ sunt?

Imperium civile oritur ex pactis?

Omnes homines sunt natura equales?

Jus servitutis non fundatur in rerum natura?

Homines a muneribus publicis non recte excluduntur ob religiosas opiniones?

Homines qui dissentiunt a religione lege stabilita muneribus publicis jure repelluntur?

Rationi consentaneum est et reipublicæ prodest, ut nemini pœna infligatur ob religiosas opiniones?

Supremo magistratui resistere licet, si respublica aliter servari nequit?

Jus non competit civitati in vitas subditorum?

Juri gentium repugnat ut medii bellicosas apparatus gentibus bellum gerentibus suppeditent?

Licet principi subditos alienos contra gravem et manifestam injuriam defendere?

Contra crescentem potentiam quæ minimum aucta nocere possit non licet arma sumere?

Leges in civitate quæ monomachiam prohibent recte instituuntur?

Clamores populi libertatem stabiliorem reddunt?

Libertas imprimendi in Anglicano imperio est admittenda?

Recte statuit Lockius de distinctis fidei et rationis provinciis?

Privata felicitas est ultimus moralium actionum finis?

Formalis ratio virtutis consistit in conformitate ad Dei voluntatem?

In res quæ singulorum sunt propriæ jus omnibus competit extremæ necessitatis?

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Ex præsenti rerum statu, morale Dei imperium colligi potest?
Ideæ immediata voluntatis actione excitari non possunt?
Phænomena somniorum explicari nequeunt ex materia et motu?
Phænomena somniorum solvuntur ab ideis nuper receptis a statu corporis, et ab idearum associatione?
Anima est immaterialis?

These specimens of the questions which engaged the attention of our young men above half a century ago, may be sufficient to give a proper idea of the importance of scholastic exercises, as one mean of a good education. The depths of science, and the liberality of principles in which the University of Cambridge initiates her sons, would, had he been acquainted with them, have extorted praise from Mr. Gibbon himself.

In the end of the year 1763, I was again appointed Moderator, in the room of a person of St. John's College, who, after a trial of presiding in the schools for the first term, had resigned through infirmity.

On the 12th of February, 1764, I received a letter informing me that a separation had taken place between my friend Mr. Luther, then one of the Members for Essex, and his wife, and that he was gone hastily abroad. My heart was ever warm in friendship, and it ordered me, on this occasion, to follow my friend. I saw he was deserted and unhappy, and I flew to give him, if possible, some consolation. I set off from Cambridge on the same day I had received the account. I could read, but I could not speak a word of French; I had no servant nor any money; I presently

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borrowed fifty pounds, and bought a French and English Dictionary, and thus equipped, I went post to Dover, without so much as knowing whether my friend was gone to France, and from thence, almost without sleeping, I got to Paris and enquired him out.—The meeting was such as might have been expected. I did not stay above twelve hours in Paris, but immediately returned to England, and, after a variety of accidents and great fatigue, for I crossed the Channel four times, and travelled twelve hundred miles in very bad weather in a fortnight, I brought my friend back to his country and his family. His appearance in the House of Commons instantly quashed all the injurious reports which, from his hasty manner of leaving the country, scandal had raised to his disadvantage. He was a thorough honest man, and one of the friends I ever loved with the greatest affection. His temper was warm, and his wife (a very deserving woman) had been over-persuaded to marry him,—had she loved him as he loved her, she would have borne with his infirmity of temper. Great are the public evils, and little the private comforts attending interested marriages; when they become general, they not only portend but bring on a nation's ruin.

In October, 1764, I was made Moderator for Christ's College. On the 19th of the following November, on the death of Dr. Hadley, I was unanimously elected by the Senate, assembled in full congregation, Professor of Chemistry. An eminent physician in London had expressed a wish to succeed Dr. Hadley, but on my signifying to him that it was my intention to read chemical lectures in the University, he declined the contest. At the time this honour was conferred upon me, I knew nothing at all of

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Chemistry, had never read a syllable on the subject; nor seen a single experiment in it; but I was tired with mathematics and natural philosophy, and the *vehementissima gloriæ cupido* stimulated me to try my strength in a new pursuit, and the kindness of the University (it was always kind to me) animated me to very extraordinary exertions. I sent immediately after my election for an operator to Paris; I buried myself as it were in my laboratory, at least as much as my other avocations would permit; and in fourteen months from my election, I read a course of chemical lectures to a very full audience, consisting of persons of all ages and degrees, in the University. I read another course in November, 1766, and was made Moderator, for the fourth time, in October, 1765.

In January every year, when the Bachelors of Arts take their degrees, one of the two Moderators makes a sort of speech in Latin to the Senate; I made this speech three times: the last was in 1766. I had, in a former speech, taken the liberty to mention, with great freedom, some defects in the University education, especially with respect to Noblemen and Fellow-Commoners; and without hinting the abolition of the orders, strongly insisted on the propriety of obliging them to keep exercises in the schools, as the other candidates for degrees did. In this last speech I recommended the instituting public annual examinations, in prescribed books, of all the orders of students in the University. I mentioned also the necessity of allowing more time for the examination, and of appointing more examiners, and of particularly distinguishing, by separate honours, the best proficients in the several branches of science; that those who could not excel in the

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abstract sciences, or natural philosophy, might have some chance for distinction in ethics and metaphysics.

In the year 1774, the subject of annual examinations of all the students was brought forward by a very honest and intelligent, but unpopular man, Mr. Jebb, who had been Moderator with me some years before. A Syndicate (Committee) was appointed by the Senate to draw up a system of regulations for the introduction of annual examinations. The Duke of Grafton, as Chancellor of the University, was consulted, and gave an unequivocal approbation of the design. The Syndicate met several times at the Vice-Chancellor's, where the subject was discussed with great diligence and good temper. In a few weeks the regulations which had been drawn up by the Syndics were proposed to the Senate, and were rejected by the *Non Regent House*, 47 against 43. From what I personally knew of the tempers of the principal opposers of the measure, I had the greatest reason to suspect, that they were actuated by littlenesses of mind, respecting their dislike of any thing brought forward by Mr. Jebb, respecting their not having been previously consulted, not having been included in the Syndicate, &c., more than by any solid ground of disapprobation to the measure itself. An account of the regulations, and of the principal persons who supported them, may be seen in Dr. Jebb's works, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1774.

There was no stipend annexed to the Professorship of Chemistry, nor any thing furnished to the Professor by the University, except a room to read lectures in. I was told that the Professors of Chemistry in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, &c., were supported by their

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respective monarchs; and I knew that the reading a course of lectures would every year be attended with a great expense; and being very hearty in the design of recommending chemistry to the attention of the youth of the University and of the country, I thought myself justified in applying to the minister for a stipend from the Crown. Lord Rockingham was then Minister (1766), and Mr. Luther, who had lately spent above twenty thousand pounds in establishing the Whig interest in Essex, undertook to ask for it. Though an hundred a year, given for the encouragement of science, is but as a drop in the ocean, when compared with the enormous sums lavished in unmerited pensions, lucrative sinecure places, and scandalous jobs, by every Minister on his flatterers and dependants, in order to secure his majorities in Parliament, yet I obtained this drop with difficulty, and, unless the voice of a member of Parliament had seconded my petition, I doubt whether I should have succeeded. I sent up to the Duke of Newcastle, Chancellor of the University, a testimonial from the Vice-Chancellor, that I had read with credit a course of chemical lectures; and that a chemical establishment would be highly useful to the University; together with this testimonial, I sent my petition to Lord Rockingham, requesting the Duke to present it to him.

The petition was presented in March, but I heard nothing about it till the July following; when, waiting upon the Duke of Newcastle, he asked if my business was done? I answered, *No*, and that I thought it never would be done. I own I had been so much vexed at the delay, that I was very indifferent whether it ever was done or not, and therefore answered with more firmness than

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the old man had been used to. He then asked why it had not been done. My answer was, "Because Lord Rockingham says Your Grace ought to speak to the King, as Chancellor of the University; and Your Grace says, that Lord Rockingham ought to speak to the King, as Minister." He stared at me with astonishment; and, calling for paper, he instantly wrote a letter, and sealing it with his own seal, ordered me to go with it immediately to Lord Rockingham, who had a levee that day. I did so, (and it was the only time in my life that I ever attended a minister's levee,) and sent in my letter, before the levee began. I understood it was whispered, that Lord Rockingham and the Whigs were to go out of administration; and it was so: for their dismission was settled that day. Lord Rockingham, however, undertook to ask the King; and, apologizing for not having done it sooner, offered in a very polite manner to have the stipend (I asked only for 100*l.* a year,) settled upon me for life. This I refused, and desired to have it only whilst I continued Professor of Chemistry, and discharged the duty of the office.

The ice being thus broken by me, similar stipends have been since procured from the Crown, for the Professors of Anatomy and Botany, and for the recently established Professor of Common Law. The University is now much richer than it was in 1766; and it would become its dignity, I think, to thank the King for his indulgence, and to pay in future its unendowed Professors without having recourse to the public purse; not that I feel the least reluctance to dipping into the public purse for such a purpose, but I feel something for the independence of the University.

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In October, 1767, I became one of the Head Tutors in Trinity College, in the room of Mr. Backhouse, who resigned his pupils to me. I thought this an high trust, and was conscientiously diligent in the discharge of it, during the short time I held this important office.

In this, and the two following years, I read Chemical Lectures to very crowded audiences, in the month of November. I now look back with a kind of terror at the application I used in the younger part of my life. For months and years together I frequently read three public lectures in Trinity College, beginning at eight o'clock in the morning; spent four or five hours with private pupils, and five or six more in my laboratory, every day, besides the incidental business of presiding in the Sophs schools. Had so much pains and time been dedicated to Greek and Hebrew, and to what are called learned subjects, what tiresome collations of manuscripts, what argute emendations of text, what jejune criticisms, what dull dissertations, what ponderous logomachics might have been produced, and left to sleep on the same shelves with bulky systems of German divinity in the libraries of Universities!!!

In 1768, I composed and printed my *Institutiones Metallurgicæ*, and designed to have given a scientific form to chemistry, by digesting into a connected series of propositions, (after the manner of Rutherforth's Propositions, a book then held deservedly in high estimation in the University, though now scarcely heard of,) what was then certainly established by experiment in every branch of it.

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Much about the same time, I sent a paper to the Royal Society, respecting various phenomena attending the solutions of salts, and was unanimously elected a Fellow of that illustrious body.

In 1769, I preached an Assize Sermon at Cambridge, and was desired by the Judge to publish it. This being the first of my publications, (for my Metallurgic Institutes were not published,) I dedicated it to the only person to whom I owed any obligation, Mr. Luther. I made it a rule never to dedicate to those from whom I expected favours, but to those only from whom I had received them. The dedication of my Collection of Theological Tracts to the Queen did not come under either of these descriptions; it proceeded from the opinion I then entertained of her merit, as a wife and a mother. At the time this sermon was preached, government was greatly relaxed; and mobs, which I ever detested, thinking senseless popularity beneath the notice of genuine Whiggism, were very rife in favour of Mr. Wilkes. But though I disliked Mr. Wilkes's mobs, I did not dislike his cause, judging that the constitution was violated in the treatment he received both from the King's ministers, and the House of Commons. His case not only made a great noise at home, but was much bruited abroad; in cloisters, as well as in courts; amongst monks, as well as politicians. I happened to be at Paris about that time; and the only question which I was asked by a Carthusian monk, who showed me his monastery, was, whether Monsieur *Vilkes*, or the King, had got the better.

In October, 1771, when I was preparing for another course of

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chemistry, and printing a new chemical syllabus, Dr. Rutherforth, Regius Professor of Divinity, died. This Professorship, as being one of the most arduous and honourable offices in the University, had long been the secret object of my ambition; I had for years determined in my own mind to endeavour to succeed Dr. Rutherforth, provided he lived till I was of a proper age, and fully qualified for the undertaking. His premature and unexpected death quite disheartened me. I knew as much of divinity as could reasonably be expected from a man whose course of studies had been directed to, and whose time had been fully occupied in other pursuits; but with this *curta supellex* in theology to take possession of the first professional chair in Europe, seemed too daring an attempt even for my intrepidity.

However, not being of a temper to be discouraged by difficulties, and not observing that any men of distinguished talents stood forth as candidates for the professorship, except Dr. Gordon, and thinking that I would labour night and day till I was qualified for the office, if I were appointed to it, and knowing that I was sufficiently versed in dialectics, from having presided many years in the philosophical schools, I determined to sound the University, and if I found the general sense of the body favourable to my pretensions, to become a candidate. I soon was informed from many different quarters, that the University expected I should come forward; so far was it from being displeased at what I myself considered as a bold proceeding. Even Dr. Powell, (who was not very partial to me from my having carried an appeal against his College,) on my apologizing to him for offering myself as a candidate at so early an age, said,

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" that it would indeed have been great presumption in any other person of my age in the University, but that it was none in me." Before I publickly declared my intention of becoming a candidate, I waited upon Dr. Ogden, with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I considered as the fittest person in the University to succeed to the vacant office, and pressed him to come forward, assuring him that if he would do so, he should not have me for a competitor; he gave me no decisive answer at that time, but on the morning of the day before that appointed for the examination of the candidates, I received from him the following note:

" After so much civility and even kindness on the side of Dr. " Watson, and so much delay on mine, I am both sorry and " ashamed not to send him yet a decisive answer. It is not that " I conceal my resolution from him, but that I have not taken " any. I intend to send him another note either to night or to- " morrow-morning, and hope, but dare not say that I shall be " more explicit.

" S. O."

I returned by the messenger the annexed answer:

" Mr. Watson can only repeat his wishes to see the Divinity- " chair filled by Dr. Ogden, and begs that he would in every " thing consult his own interest and inclination. Mr. Watson " will thank Dr. Ogden, if he comes to any resolution, for the " favour of a note, for he does not mean to present himself to the " electors to-morrow if Dr. Ogden is a candidate."

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About ten o'clock in the evening of the same day I received from him the following very characteristic note:—

"I have behaved to you like a scoundrel by my indecision, but "I will not appear in the schools to-morrow."

I afterwards was informed that Dr. Ogden hoped the electors would have *offered* him the professorship, and that he waited to the last moment in expectation of their doing so. This transaction occasioned no coolness between him and me, for I had a great regard for him, and when I sent him, a week or two after, the chemical syllabus which I was then printing, he favoured me with another of his pithy laconisms: *Provinciam quam nactus es sic orna.*

I was not, when Dr. Rutherforth died, either Bachelor or Doctor in Divinity, and without being one of them I could not become a candidate for the professorship. This puzzled me for a moment; I had only seven days to transact the business in; but by hard travelling and some adroitness I accomplished my purpose, obtained the King's mandate for a Doctor's degree, and was created a Doctor on the day previous to that appointed for the examination of the candidates. On that day I appeared before the electors assembled in the law-schools, and had two subjects given to write upon. The reconciliation of the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, and the interpretation of the passage, "What "shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" 1 Cor. xv. 29.

Dr. Gordon also appeared, made some objection to the forma-

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lity of the proceedings, and on that account refused being examined. I delivered to the electors, at three o'clock on the same day, what I had written in Latin on the two subjects. They then appointed me another subject:—"These are the families of the "sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by "these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood," Gen. x. 32; on which I was to read a Latin dissertation of an hour in length, in the divinity-schools, on that day fortnight.

I read my dissertation at the appointed time and place, and was unanimously elected the day following. On the 14th of the ensuing November I took the chair, made a long inauguration speech, and presided at my first act in the presence of a numerous audience.

Thus did I, by hard and incessant labour for seventeen years, attain, at the age of thirty-four, the first office for honour in the University; and, exclusive of the Mastership of Trinity College, I have made it the first for profit. I found the Professorship not worth quite 330*l.* a-year, and it is now worth 1000*l.* at the least.

On being raised to this distinguished office, I immediately applied myself with great eagerness to the study of divinity. Eagerness, indeed, in the pursuit of knowledge was a part of my temper, till the acquisition of knowledge was attended with nothing but the neglect of the King and his ministers; and I feel by a broken constitution at this hour, the effects of that literary diligence with which I laboured for a great many years.

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I reduced the study of divinity into as narrow a compass as I could, for I determined to study nothing but my Bible, being much unconcerned about the opinions of councils, fathers, churches, bishops, and other men, as little inspired as myself. This mode of proceeding being opposite to the general one, and especially to that of the Master of Peterhouse, who was a great reader, he used to call me *αυτοδιδακτος*, the self-taught divine.—The Professor of Divinity had been nick-named *Malleus Hæreticorum;* it was thought to be his duty to demolish every opinion which militated against what is called the orthodoxy of the Church of England. Now my mind was wholly unbiassed; I had no prejudice against, no predilection for the Church of England; but a sincere regard for the *Church of Christ*, and an insuperable objection to every degree of dogmatical intolerance. I never troubled myself with answering any arguments which the opponents in the divinity schools brought against the articles of the church, nor ever admitted their authority as decisive of a difficulty; but I used on such occasions to say to them, holding the New Testament in my hand, *En sacrum codicem!* Here is the fountain of truth, why do you follow the streams derived from it by the sophistry, or polluted by the passions of man? If you can bring proofs against any thing delivered in this book, I shall think it my duty to reply to you; articles of churches are not of divine authority; have done with them; for they may be true, they may be false; and appeal to the book itself. This mode of disputing gained me no credit with the hierarchy, but I thought it an honest one, and it produced a liberal spirit in the University. —In the course of this year (1771) I had printed an essay on the subject of chemistry, and given it to a few of my friends; by

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some means or other it fell into the hands of the authors of the *Journal Encyclopédique;* who, in giving an account of it said, that I had followed the author of the *Système de la Nature.* I wrote but indifferent French; I ventured, however, to send them the following letter:—

" Messieurs,

" Je suis très flatté par la critique que vous avez faite sur mon Essai de Chymie. Il auroit été suivi de plusieurs autres plus intéressans peut-être, et plus dignes de votre attention, si mon élévation à la Chaire Théologique n'avoit pas interrompue mes spéculations sur la Chymie et la Physique. Mais permettez, je vous en prie, à ce petit enfant d'appartenir à moi seul, comme à son père. Je l'estimerois indigne de mes soins, et je l'abandonnerois sans regret, s'il n'étoit, vraisemblablement, le dernier gage de mon amour pour la Physique qui verra la lumière. Sur l'honneur d'un amateur des sciences, je n'ai jamais lu ni vu le *Système de la Nature,* ni quelque autre livre sur le sujet de mon essai.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

" R. WATSON."

In a following journal this letter was published, and an apology was made for the mistake they had fallen into in their criticism. Before I ventured to publish this piece, I submitted it for his advice to the perusal of my friend Dr. Law, and he returned it to me with this note: " Publish, Meo Periculo *φωσφορα συνεσεσιν.*"

In 1772, I published two short letters to the Members of the House of Commons, under the feigned name of a Christian

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Whig, and put myself to the expense of giving a copy of the first to every member of the House, the day before the clerical petition was taken into their consideration. I was then, and at all times a great admirer of the integrity and ability of Sir George Saville; and without acquainting him with my purpose, I took the liberty of inscribing to him the second letter in the following terms:—"A stranger to the person of Sir George Saville inscribes this tract to his character." In 1773, upon maturely weighing the question concerning the abstract right which a national church may claim of requiring subscription to human articles of faith from its public ministers, I published a small tract entitled, "A brief State of the Principles of Church Authority." When I visited my diocese in June, 1813, I read it verbatim to my clergy as my charge to them, and was requested by them to publish it, with the following preface:

"*A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff.*

"Reverend Brethren,

"It is not unknown, I presume, to many amongst you, that I have been your Bishop for above thirty years; but it cannot be known by any of you that nine years before I became Bishop of Llandaff, I published in London a short anonymous tract entitled, 'A brief State of the Principles of Church Authority.'

"A desire of settling my own opinions on some important points, was my sole motive for then making that publication; few of you, I believe, have ever met with it, and fewer probably of those who have formerly met with it, have ever perused it, and not one perhaps of those who may formerly

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have perused it, now recollects its contents. Under such circumstances I do not deem it necessary to make any apology for introducing it at present to your consideration. The subject of it demands the most dispassionate discussion at all times, and especially at this time, when such subjects are much agitated, and I trust always agitated with candour and liberality by both Churchmen and Dissenters of different denominations."

"*Appendix to the 'Brief State.'* — In this tract it is said that every church has a right of explaining to its ministers what doctrines it holds, and of permitting none to minister in it who do not profess the same belief with itself. This conclusion has been thought by some whose judgment I greatly esteem to be erroneous, and I have been advised by them many years ago to reconsider the reasoning from which it is deduced. I have reconsidered the whole pamphlet, and must own that I cannot perceive any false reasoning in any part of it. I am sensible, however, that the mind of man, when it has once come to a conclusion on any subject is apt, in every subsequent examination of it, to give too much weight to the arguments by which the conclusion is established, and too little to those by which it is opposed, and I am far from being confident that my mind, in reviewing this subject, is free from the general infirmity. I may still be in an error; and if I am, I earnestly request you, my Reverend Brethren, to believe that it is an error perfectly involuntary: I have not been betrayed into it from a design or a desire of saying any thing in support of the Established Church beyond or beside what I thought true with respect to every other *voluntary* assembly of Christians associated for divine worship.

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Whether the majority of the members of any civil community have a right to compel all the members of it to *pay* towards the maintenance of a set of teachers appointed by the majority, to preach a particular system of doctrines, is a question which might admit a serious discussion. I was once of opinion, that the majority had this right in *all* cases, and I am still of opinion that they have it in *many*. But I am staggered when I consider that a case may happen, in which the established religion may be the religion of a minority of the people, that minority, at the same time, possessing a majority of the property, out of which the ministers of the establishment are to be paid."

My sentiments as to the *expediency* of requiring from the ministers of the Established Church a subscription to the present articles of religion, or to any human confession of faith, further than a declaration of belief in the Scriptures, as containing a revelation of the will of God, may be collected from what I have said in the two pamphlets subscribed "A Christian Whig," and "A consistent Protestant." These tracts were well received by the world; but detesting controversy, I never owned them. They were composed more from my own reflections on the subject, than from adverting to what others had said upon it. I have since had satisfaction in finding, that my thoughts on many points, both religious and civil, were in perfect coincidence with those of Bishop Hoadley; and I glory in this, notwithstanding the abuse that eminent prelate experienced in his own time, and notwithstanding he has been in our time sarcastically called, and what is worse, injuriously called by Bishop Horseley, a *republican bishop*.

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My constitution was ill fitted for celibacy, and as soon, therefore, as I had any means of maintaining a family I married. My wife was the eldest daughter of Edward Wilson, Esq. of Dallum Tower, in Westmoreland. We were married at Lancaster on the 21st of December, 1773. During a cohabitation of above forty years, she has been every thing I wished her to be; and I trust I have lived with her, and provided for her, as a man not unconscious of her worth, ought to have done.

The day after my marriage I set forward to take possession of a sinecure rectory in North Wales, procured for me, from the Bishop of St. Asaph, by the Duke of Grafton, out of a kind consideration of my being ill provided for; as I had no preferment but the professorship of divinity. This sinecure, on my return to Cambridge, I exchanged for a prebend in the church of Ely: the exchange was wholly owing to the unsolicited attention of the Duke. At the time he did me this favour, we thought differently on politics. I had made no scruple of every where declaring, that I looked upon the American war as *unjust* in its commencement, and that its conclusion would be unfavourable to this kingdom, and His Grace did not abandon the administration till October, 1775. — As I had then the good fortune to see a person to whom I was so much obliged come over to my opinion, I could not forbear giving a proof of my gratitude, by printing the following letter in the Public Advertiser, though the Duke never, I believe, knew that I wrote it.

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"*To His Grace the Duke of Grafton.*

"My Lord Duke, November 27. 1775.

"YOUR GRACE owes not this letter to the prostituted pen of an hireling, nor to the forward zeal of a dependant, nor to the partial warmth of personal attachment; but to a love for truth and a reverence for justice. And who that has a regard for either, can hear without abhorrence Your Grace's separation from the ministry branded as an apostasy from honour, and the most illustrious action of your life stigmatised as a desertion of the interests of your country?—I mean not to become Your Grace's panegyrist, further than my conscience tells me you deserve praise. I have no talent for adulation; it suits not my temper, and my situation sets me above the temptation of using it; but if the heart of *Junius* be not obstructed by private pique, if malignant habitudes have not rendered him callous to the honourable feelings of a man, he will blush with shame and remorse for having mistaken and traduced your character: he will embrace with eagerness this fair opportunity of retracting his abuse, and candidly portray Your Grace to the world in such striking colours of truth and honour as may obliterate from the memory of every ingenuous man the base aspersions of his calumny. Your loyalty to the King has ever been above suspicion; your adherence to the liberties of the people has been represented by your enemies as precarious and problematical; but your breaking a bond of union with those whom personal regards and the intercourse of social life had rendered dear to you, your voluntarily incurring the displeasure of a Sovereign whom you loved, your resigning an honourable and lucrative post so soon as you were persuaded that the measures of administration tended to the oppression of

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the people and the ruin of the empire, — these sacrifices of interest and affection (the greatest surely a man can make) to conscience, will ever be remembered, by impartial men, to your credit, and cannot fail to exalt your character as a man of integrity, as a supporter of the indefeasible rights of mankind, far beyond the temporary reach of ministerial invective or personal malevolence.

" Lord Effingham stands deservedly high in the estimation of the public, and Your Grace's conduct is not less eminently great.

" Party may say that you are mistaken, but it cannot say that you are not honest. Such instances of disinterested patriotism are uncommon in any history, and would have done credit to the early periods of Roman history. — In these *times, and in this nation, when an attention to the public good is apt to be considered by wise men as folly; when individuals in every class of life, I had almost said in every department of the state, are more ashamed of poverty than of dishonour, and when luxury makes almost every individual poor; they demand the hearty approbation of every lover of his country.*

" I am, &c."

Such were my sentiments of the defect of public principle, and of the progress of general luxury in 1775; and in 1813 they are not altered. At the time I published this letter, I knew very little of the Duke of Grafton, as an acquaintance; I had afterwards more intimacy with him, and I was for many years, indeed as long as he lived, happy in his friendship. It appears from some hundreds of his letters which he had ordered at his death to be returned unread to me, that we had not always agreed either in our political

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or religious opinions; but we had both of us too much sense to suffer a diversity of sentiment to deaden the activity of personal attachment. I never attempted either to encourage or to discourage his profession of *Unitarian* principles, for I was happy to see a person of his rank, professing with intelligence and with sincerity Christian principles. If any one thinks that an Unitarian is not a Christian, I plainly say, without being myself an Unitarian, that I think otherwise.

I never printed any thing else in a newspaper except a letter in defence of the Bishop of Peterborough, who had followed the Duke of Grafton in quitting the ministry; and the subsequent one in support of what I conceived to have been neglected by our Chancellor, when he recommended to us for one of our members of Parliament an obscure country-gentleman: —

"My Lord Duke,

"LEARNED bodies have ever been studious of acquiring the protection of men distinguished either by eminency of rank or excellency of talents. Your Grace became our Chancellor from the united influence of these motives. We were happy in thinking that we had attached to our interest a nobleman, whose high birth would add honour to his abilities, and whose abilities, upon any emergency, would explain to the House of Lords our ancient principles, or solicit for us such new indulgences from the legislature as the change of times might render suitable to the particularities of our situation, and conducive to the good of the public.

We doubt not Your Grace's disposition to exert yourself in our

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favour, when an occasion offers; but we are sorry that in the recommendation of a candidate to succeed Mr. De Grey, as our representative in Parliament, Your Grace had forgotten, as it were, both the dignity of your own character and the respect due to ours. We received your recommendation of Mr. De Grey without reluctance; we knew him to be a man of merit, and, upon that account, were cordially disposed to give him every mark of our respect, and to confide in his ability to serve us. But we are dissatisfied with the gentleman designed for his successor: we have no particular objections to him as a private man; nay, we believe him equal to the transacting the business of the Borough of *Downton*, but we by no means think him of consequence enough in life to be the representative, or of ability sufficient to support the interest of the *University* of *Cambridge*. Your Grace has added lustre to our University, by giving us two resident Bishops. You have rendered services to some other individuals; they are men of integrity; doubtless you will receive from them the tribute of private gratitude. As a body we thank you for this attention to individuals; but we call upon you also for an attention to our general good, which, in the present instance, we think you have much neglected. In one word, My Lord, you must not consider us as a *venal borough*. You have secured to yourself the heads of some colleges: they have, in their respective societies, some little influence; but I plainly tell Your Grace, that there is a large body of independent members of the Senate who are well affected to Your Grace's interest, but who cannot be brought to give it an indiscriminate support.

"I am, &c."

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I had taken singular pains in the education of Lord Granby, both before my marriage and after it; I was therefore highly gratified in receiving from him a letter, at Lancaster, dated the 17th of August, 1775, in which was the following paragraph:—

"If the Whigs will not now unite themselves in opposition to "such a Tory principle, which has established the present un- "constitutional system, this country will be plunged into perdition "beyond redemption. I never can thank you too much for "making me study Locke; while I exist, those tenets, which are "so attentive to the natural rights of mankind, shall ever be the "guide and direction of my actions.—I live at Chevley; I hope "often to see you; you may, and I am sure you will, still assist "me in my studies. Though I have formed a Tory connexion, "Whig principles are too firmly rivetted in me ever to be re- "moved. Best compliments to Mrs. Watson, and reserve to "yourself the assurance of my being most affectionately and sin- "cerely yours,

"GRANBY."

Answer.

"My Dear Lord. Trumpington, August 15th, 1775.

"I GOT home the day before yesterday, and employ my first leisure in answering your letter, which I received at Lancaster. Nothing can give me greater pleasure than the finding you so well satisfied with the part I have taken in your education; and that you may, some time or other, become a great and an honest minister is the warm wish of my heart.

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"As to your studies, you may ever command my best assistance in the furtherance of them; you certainly ought not to think yourself at liberty to lay them aside at your age; books, indeed, never made a great statesman, and business has made many; yet books and business, combined together, are the most likely to enlarge your understanding, and to complete the character you aim at.

"Persevere, I beg of you, in the resolution of doing something for yourself; your ancestors have left you rank and fortune; these will procure you that respect from the world, which other men with difficulty obtain, by personal merit. But if to these you add your own endeavours to become good, and wise, and great, then will you deserve the approbation of men of sense.

"General reading is the most useful for men of the world, but few men of the world have leisure for it; and those who have courage to abridge their pleasures for the improvement of their minds, would do well to consider that different books ought to be read with very different degrees of attention; or, as Lord Bacon quaintly enough expresses it, some books are to be tasted or read in part only; some to be swallowed or read wholly, but not cursorily; and some to be digested, or read with great diligence, and well considered. Of this last kind are the works of Lord Bacon himself. Nature has been very sparing in the production of such men as Bacon; they are a kind of superior beings; and the rest of mankind are usefully employed for whole centuries in picking up what they poured forth at once. Lord Bacon opened the avenues of all science, and had such a comprehensive way of thinking upon every subject, that a familiarity with his writings cannot fail of being extensively useful to you as an orator; and

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there are so many shrewd observations concerning human nature dispersed through his works, that you will be much the wiser for them as a private man.

" I would observe the same of Mr. Locke's writings, all of which, without exception (even his letters to the Bishop of Worcester will teach you acuteness in detecting sophistry in debate), may be read over and over again with infinite advantage. His reasoning is every where profound, and his language masculine. I hate the flimsy womanish eloquence of novel readers, I mean of such as read nothing else, and wish you, therefore, to acquire both justness of sentiment and strength of expression, from the perusal of the works of great men. Make Bacon, then, and Locke, and why should I not add that sweet child of nature, *Shakspeare*, your chief companions through life, let them be ever upon your table, and when you have an hour to spare from business or pleasure, spend it with them, and I will answer for their giving you entertainment and instruction as long as you live.

" You can no more have an intimacy with all books than with all men, and one should take the best of both kinds for one's peculiar friends; for the human mind is ductile to a degree, and insensibly conforms itself to what it is most accustomed to. Thus with books as with men, a few friends stand us in better stead than a multitude of folks we know little of. I do not think that you will ever become a great reader, I hope your time will be better employed; and yet, considering the worthless way in which the generality of men of fashion weary out their existence, the odds are against my hopes; yet I do hope it, and therefore will not burden you with the recommendation of a learned catalogue of ancient authors. One of them, however, I must mention to you;

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all the works of Plutarch are excellent, whether read in the original or in a good translation, and his Lives in particular will furnish you not only with the knowledge of the greatest characters in antiquity, but will give you no mean insight into the most interesting parts of the Greek and Roman histories. Eloquence was never learned by rule, and Tully, and Quintilian, and Longinus themselves could not have made a Chatham; but a frequent reading of the best compositions, ancient and modern, will be of service to you.

"Locke has laid in you a good foundation, or rather has finished the work of civil government, so that other authors upon that subject are less necessary for you; from him you are become acquainted with some of the principal questions of natural Law; however, I think it would be very serviceable for you, and tend greatly to the furnishing your mind with a species of knowledge which you will have frequent occasion for, though you may not at present, perhaps, be aware of the want of it, if you would take the trouble to peruse with attention some good author upon the Laws of Nature. Among the great number who have treated that subject with success, I am of opinion that Rutherforth's Institutes (a kind of commentary upon Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis*), will, upon the whole, be the best book for you to employ your time upon. I am no stranger to what is urged in favour of Puffendorf, Cumberland, Hutchinson, Burlamaqui, and other more modern productions; but trust me for once, and you will not have any reason, I hope, to think your confidence in this matter misplaced. I take it for granted that one author will be as much as you will have patience for upon that subject; and, indeed, I think one will be as much as you will have occasion for.

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From the knowledge I have of the course of your former studies, and the apprehension of what, from your present situation as a young nobleman just entering into life, you will have the most immediate concern for, I should wish you to begin with Rutherforth immediately; and when you have read him leisurely and carefully quite through, as soon as you have finished him, and not before, if you would read Blackstone's Commentaries with an equal degree of attention, I should think you very well grounded; and depend upon it no superstructure can be raised where there is no foundation. *Sapere* is as truly the *principium et fons* of good speaking as of good writing. I will not trouble you with any thing more upon this subject at present, for the books I have mentioned to you will require more time than you will be able shortly to give them. I have had no regard in what I have written to a fine plan, which it is much easier for me to form than for any one to execute, but barely to what I think will be most useful to you at present, and most conducive to the one great end of your becoming a distinguished character in the management of national affairs, at some more distant period of your life. Different books may be proper for you as you increase in knowledge, and the best modern publications will fall in your way of course. As to mathematics and natural philosophy, though much of my own time has been spent in the cultivation of them, I do not think that they ought to be a principal pursuit with you. Euclid would have done much towards fixing your attention; but Locke has well supplied his place, and I will, at any time when you have leisure and inclination for such an undertaking, make you acquainted with any one or with all the branches of natural philosophy. Not that you will have much time upon your hands

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soon, for marriage enlarges the sphere of a man's engagements, and a woman who has sense and goodness enough to relish domestic pleasures (and few other pleasures are either satisfactory or durable, to say no worse of them), has a right to break in upon a man's hours of study, and to every attention in his power to shew her.

"I heartily wish you well in the new mode of life you are entering into; much depends upon your setting out properly; be a Whig in domestic as well as political life, and the best part of Whiggism is, that it will neither suffer nor exact domination.

"Adieu, my dear Lord Granby! I feel myself concerned in your happiness and success in life, and in this concern your rank in civil society has no share. It is the man I look at, and the connexion I have had with him, which makes me wish you well, and bids me assure you that you may command every act of friendship in my power.

"Yours most truly,

"Richard Watson."

In November, 1775, the University of Cambridge, following the example of Oxford, thought fit to address the King, exhorting him to the continuance of the American war. The address was proposed to the senate by Dr. Farmer, the most determined of Tories. On that occasion I received the following letter from the Marquis of Rockingham, which I am induced to leave behind me, not only as one proof amongst a thousand of his true patriotism and good sense, but because I conceive it to be an honour to myself to have been well thought of by him.

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" Dear Sir,

" ALLOW me to express the very real pleasure and satisfaction which I felt at receiving your letter on Monday night; I had heard several days ago that there was an intention to try to procure an address from the University of Cambridge, and though my information was not very clear and decisive, yet I thought it sufficiently well founded to communicate it to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Granby. They at that time doubted the probability of the attempt, but in the middle of the last week I again received, from the Duke of Manchester, so much more confirmation, that I immediately got it again communicated to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Granby. I imagine the Bishop of Peterborough's going to Cambridge at the time he did might be occasioned by it.

" Lord Granby, as member for the University, feels a doubt on the propriety of his being active in this business; and yet I confess I wished much, from the first, that not only the Duke of Grafton and Lord Granby, but that also the friends of Whig principles would bestir themselves to prevent what I really think will be a great disgrace to the University. I am still not without hopes that the address will be stopped; I have much reliance that although Whig principles may lie as it were dormant, yet the occasion will bring them out; and I think the Whig University of Cambridge being called upon to play the second fiddle to the Tory University of Oxford, will even alarm that sort of pride, which is sometimes not an useless guardian to virtue. Lord Richard Cavendish was with me late last night; I find there are a few who would incline to set out on the shortest notice.

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" Mr. Thomas Townsend was with me this morning, and I saw Mr. Montague yesterday. I find both of them hesitate on the propriety of a few considerable persons going down, as it were by surprise, to prevent what may be the sense of the resident persons in the University.

" I will try to see Sir G. Saville to-morrow morning; I saw him yesterday on various matters, and totally omitted asking his opinion in respect to this affair at Cambridge. I enclose you a list, as Lord Richard Cavendish and I made it out; you will see we know of but few who are in London, and those few are chiefly persons in the University.

" It is no small satisfaction to me to find, that the only two persons with whom I have the honour to have any intercourse at Cambridge, namely, yourself and Dr. Ellison, are always to be found acting on those principles whereon our first acquaintance was grounded. No event, I trust, can ever operate on any of us to shake that cement, I hope you will receive this letter early in the morning, and that I may have an answer from you before four o'clock in the evening; that in case, upon full consideration, you think that even a few should set out, I may get it communicated to them early in the morning. I imagine the business cannot come on till Friday, at the soonest.

" I am, dear Sir, with very great truth and regard,

" Your most obedient servant, and sincere friend,

" ROCKINGHAM.

" Grosvenor-Square, Wednesday night,
past 12 o'clock, Nov. 22. 1775."

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Answer.

" My Lord, Trumpington, Nov. 25. 1775.

" I DID not get out of the Senate House soon enough for the post on Friday last. The Tories beat us by eight votes in the Whitehood House; they owe their victory to the ministerial troops, which were poured in from the Admiralty, Treasury, &c. beyond expectation. I am quite sorry for this event, not only as it is derogatory to our former character, but as the sense of the two Universities, thus publicly declared, may have an undue weight with many individuals; for the bulk of mankind is ever more the creature of prejudice than of reason.

" Surely the clergy have a professional bias to support the powers that are, be they what they may. But I will not say all I think on this subject; especially as this bias, if it exists, may proceed as much from the moderation and forbearance inculcated by the general tendency of their studies, as from the more obvious imputation of interested motives. As I seldom come to London, I have no opportunity of paying my respects to your Lordship, and soliciting the honour of a nearer acquaintance; but I am not on that account less attached to one whom I have ever considered as the head of the Whig interest in this kingdom; and let the pensioners and place-men say what they will, *Whig* and *Tory* are as opposite to each other, as Mr. *Locke* and Sir *Robert Filmer*; as the soundest sense, and the profoundest nonsense; and I must always conclude, that a man has lost his honesty, or his intellect, when he attempts to confound the ideas.

" Lord Richard Cavendish left me yesterday: he bids me hope for an accession of strength to the minority after Christmas.

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Would to God, it may tend to effectuate a change of men and measures, before we have blundered on beyond a possibility of rectifying our mistake.

"*It is an infatuation in the minister, next to a crime, to suppose that the House of Bourbon, however quiescent and indifferent it may appear at present, will not avail itself of our dissensions in every possible way, and to every possible extent; and the moment America is compelled to open her ports, and to refuge her distress under foreign protection, there will be an end of our history as a great people.*

"I am, &c.

"RICHARD WATSON."

How fully this prediction respecting the conduct of the House of Bourbon, was verified by the event, every one knows; and our children will know, whether the other part of it was a groundless prediction.

In 1776, it came to my turn to preach the Restoration and Accession Sermons before the University: I published them both, calling the first, "*The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated.*"

This Sermon was written with great caution, and at the same time, with great boldness and respect for truth. In London it was reported, at its first coming out, to be treasonable; and a friend of mine, Mr. Wilson, (the late Judge,) who was anxious for my safety, asked Mr. Dunning (*afterwards Lord Ashburton,*) what he thought of it; who told him, "that it contained

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just such treason as ought to be preached once a month at St. James's." It gave great offence to the Court; and was at the time, and has continued to be, an obstacle to my promotion.

I knew nothing of either Lord George Germaine, or the Archbishop of Armagh; but Mr. Cumberland, Lord George's secretary, told Mr. Higgs, one of the Fellows of Trinity College, with a view of what he said being repeated to me, that these two personages had intended to propose me to the King, for the Provostship of Dublin University. I asked what had made them abandon their intention? It was answered, your Sermon on the Principles of the Revolution. I hastily replied, Bid Mr. Cumberland inform his principal, that I will neither ask or accept preferment from Lord George Germaine, or from any other person to whom these principles have rendered me obnoxious. The loss of so great a piece of preferment would have broken the spirit of many an academic; and the desire of regaining lost favour would have made him a suppliant to the Court for life. It had no such effect on me. The firmness of this reply was too much for Mr. Cumberland's political virtue; for he afterwards, in two sorry pamphlets, showed himself mine enemy. I call them sorry pamphlets; because, though there was some humour, there was no argument in them.

On the first publication of this Sermon, I was much abused by ministerial writers, as a man of republican principles. I did not deign to give any answer to the calumny, except by printing on a blank page, in subsequent editions of it, the following interpre-

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tation of the terms, from Bishop Hoadly's Works: — "Men of Republican Principles — a sort of dangerous Men who have of late taken heart, and defended the Revolution that saved us."

Mr. Fox, in debating the Sedition Bill, in December, 1795, said, "that the measures of the united branches of the legislature might be so bad, as to justify the people in resisting the government. This doctrine he had been taught, not only by *Sydney* and *Locke*, but by *Sir G. Saville*, and the late Earl of Chatham; and if these authorities would not suffice, he would refer the House to a Sermon preached by Dr. Watson, the present Bishop of Landaff, which in his opinion, was replete with manly sense and accurate reasoning, upon that delicate but important subject."

I had always looked upon Mr. Fox to be one of the most constitutional reasoners, and one of the most argumentative orators in either House of Parliament. I was, at the time this compliment was paid me, and am still, much gratified by it. The approbation of such men ever has been, and ever will be, dearer to me than the most dignified and lucrative stations in the church.

In the summer of 1776, I published my *Apology for Christianity*. I was induced to look into Mr. Gibbon's History, by a friend, (Sir Robert Graham,) who told me, that the attack upon Christianity, contained in two of his chapters, could not be repelled. My answer had a great run, and is still sought after, though it was only a month's work in the long vacation. But if I had been longer about it, though I might have stuffed it with

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more learning, and made it more bulky, I am not certain that I should have made it better. The manner in which I had treated Mr. Gibbon displeased some of the doughty polemics of the time; they were angry with me for not having bespattered him with a portion of that theological dirt, which Warburton had so liberally thrown at his antagonists. One of that gentleman's greatest admirers, (Bishop Hurd,) was even so uncandid, as to entertain, from the gentleness of my language, a suspicion of my sincerity; saying of the Apology, "it was well enough, if I was in earnest."

I sent a copy before it was published to Mr. Gibbon, from whom I received the following note.

"Mr. Gibbon takes the earliest opportunity of presenting his compliments and thanks to Dr. Watson; and of expressing his sense of the liberal treatment which he has received from so candid an adversary. Mr. Gibbon entirely coincides in opinion with Dr. Watson, that as their different sentiments on a very important point of history are now submitted to the public, they both may employ their time in a manner much more useful, as well as agreeable, than they can possibly do by exhibiting a single combat in the amphitheatre of controversy. Mr. Gibbon is therefore determined to resist the temptation of justifying in a professed reply any passages of his history, which it might perhaps be easy to clear from censure and misapprehension. But he still reserves to himself the privilege of inserting, in a future edition, some occasional remarks and explanations of his meaning. If any calls of pleasure or business should bring Dr. Watson to

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town, Mr. Gibbon would think himself fortunate in being permitted to solicit the honour of his acquaintance.

" Bentinck Street, Nov. 2d, 1776."

Answer to Mr. Gibbon's Note.

" Dr. Watson accepts with pleasure Mr. Gibbon's polite invitation to a personal acquaintance, and, if he comes to town this winter, will certainly have the honour of waiting upon him; begs at the same time to assure Mr. Gibbon, that he will be very happy to have an opportunity of shewing him every civility, if curiosity or other motives should bring him to Cambridge. Dr. Watson can have some faint idea of Mr. Gibbon's difficulty, in resisting the temptation he speaks of, from having of late been in a situation somewhat similar himself. It would be very extraordinary if Mr. Gibbon did not feel a parent's partiality, for an offspring which has justly excited the admiration of all who have seen it, and Dr. Watson would be the last person in the world, to wish him to conceal any explanation which might tend to exalt its beauties.

" Cambridge, Nov. 4th, 1776."

From a variety of complimentary letters I received on the first publication of the Apology for Christianity, I have selected the following, and that, not for the sake of the too flattering compliment it contains, but because I am desirous that my name should go down to posterity, as the friend of Dr. John Jebb.

" Dear Sir,

" Though I have a great idea of my own insignificance, and am conscious that my approbation ought not to afford you any other

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satisfaction, than what may arise from the consideration of its being the approbation of an hearty friend, yet I cannot prevail with myself to be silent after the reading of your invaluable book. I am delighted with it beyond measure. Various parts suggest to me new lights which have quieted my mind, with respect to some difficulties which I never expected to have seen so completely removed. It will no doubt encrease your already high reputation, but it will do more, it will I trust remove the prejudices of many well disposed Deists, and be the happy mean of converting them to the truth. The liberal sentiments that every where prevail in it, do you the highest honour. I have heard of a bishop who declares himself highly pleased with your performance. My wife who has a veneration for you is also prodigiously satisfied, she is only a little alarmed lest you have found out a greater mathematician than her friend Waring. But, I will trouble you no more, except to mention that when you come to a second edition, I will, if you excuse the presumption and approve, point out two or three places, which possibly you would apply your correcting hand to. The elegance, simplicity, and accuracy of style, gives myself and all I converse with great pleasure. May every happiness attend you.

"I am, with great esteem,

"Your affectionate friend,

"JOHN JEBB."

Mr. Maseres, Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer, and well known to the world by his treatise on the negative sign, and other mathematical works, had examined me for my degree, and twenty years afterwards he did me the honour of recollecting that circumstance,

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and made me a present of his Canadian Freeholder. I returned him thanks in the following letter.

" Sir, Cambridge, Oct. 11. 1777.

" Before I had read the third volume of your Dialogues, which you were so kind as to send me, I lent it to the Bishop of Carlisle, and he did not return it till last Thursday. I have now perused it with great care, and find your arguments on every point so singularly clear and concise, that I heartily wish there was sense and virtue enough in the kingdom to consider them with attention. The two brochures, (The Christian Whig, and a Brief State of the Principles of Church Authority,) which accompany this, were published some years ago, without my name, and I mean not to own them at present, lest I should be involved in theological controversy, which generally ends in undue animosity; but you will perceive from them, that I am wedded to no system except that of universal toleration and christian good will. Your distinctions relative to the different degrees of toleration are undoubtedly just. The government of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay have set an example, I had almost said of justice in the disposal of the public wealth for the maintenance of the ministers of religion, well worthy the imitation of all Christian states; and their moderation ought to cover the sticklers amongst ourselves for American episcopacy, with contrition and confusion.

" By virtue of my office in the university, I am a minister of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts; but ever since my appointment to the Professorship of Divinity, I have resolutely refused contributing any thing towards the support of the

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society, because I always believed that its missionaries were more zealous in proselyting Dissenters to episcopacy, than in converting Heathens to Christianity. This conduct of mine has been considered as exceeding strange, and has given great offence; but I had rather offend all the dignitaries of the church for ever, than act contrary to my decided judgment for an hour, and your book will now inform them, that my reasons for not subscribing were well founded. Whenever I consider how much the Church of Christ has been polluted by the ambition of its ministers, how much the great ends of civil society have been perverted by a lust of domination in its rulers, it makes me regret the low condition of humanity, and excites a longing for some other existence where the petty passions incident to our nature will be done away; where truth, and honesty, and charity, and all the virtues which either a philosopher or a Christian can set any value upon, shall be practised with less disadvantage.

"I am a man of no kind of ceremony, and shall be happy in cultivating your acquaintance whenever I have an opportunity. This short scene of life is too important to be wrangled away in endless disputes, on subjects of politics, or religion, with men who are ignorant of every useful object of knowledge, or with those whose judgments are warped by interest or misguided by passion. I look upon the improvement of the understanding, by a free communication of sentiments with a candid and intelligent friend, as one of the greatest blessings on this side the grave.

"I am, &c.

"R. Watson."

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In the beginning of the year (1779), Mr. Gibbon published an answer to his various antagonists, who had animadverted on his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. This answer was distinguished by great severity towards other men, but by great courtesy towards myself. I thought myself called upon to write to Mr. Gibbon, and sent him the subjoined letter.

"Sir,

"It will give me the greatest pleasure to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Gibbon; I beg he would accept my sincere thanks for the too favourable manner in which he has spoken of a performance which derives its chief merit from the elegance and importance of the work it attempts to oppose.

"*I have no hope of a future existence except that which is grounded on the truth of Christianity; I wish not to be deprived of this hope:* but I should be an apostate from the mild principles of the religion I profess, if I could be actuated with the least animosity against those who do not think with me, upon this, of all other the most important subject. I beg your pardon, for this declaration of my belief, but my temper is naturally open, and it ought, assuredly, to be without disguise to a man whom I wish no longer to look upon as an antagonist, but a friend. —

"I am, &c.

"R. Watson."

This letter was published in Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works and Life in 1796, and no sooner published than noticed by the King, who spoke to me of it at his Levee, calling it an *odd* letter. I did not immediately recollect the purport of it; but on His

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Majesty's repeating his observation, it occurred to me, and I instantly said to him, that I had frequently met with respectable men, who cherished an expectation of a *future state*, though they rejected Christianity as an imposture, and that I thought my publicly declaring that I was of a contrary opinion might perhaps induce Mr. Gibbon, and other *such* men, to make a deeper investigation into the truth of religion than they had hitherto done. His Majesty expressed himself perfectly satisfied, both with my opinion and with my motive for mentioning it to Mr. Gibbon.

In February, 1780, I preached, at the request of the Vice-Chancellor, the Fast Sermon before the University. A little before this time several counties had begun to follow the example of Yorkshire, in petitioning Parliament against the undue influence of the Crown; amongst the rest an ambiguous advertisement had been published by the Sheriff of Huntingdonshire, which gave occasion to the following letter to the Duke of Manchester, then Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

"My Lord Duke, Cambridge, Jan. 9th, 1780.

"As Regius Professor of Divinity, I have no inconsiderable property at Somersham. I observe a meeting of the county is advertised for an address to Parliament. If the address be designed to convey the most distant approbation of the public measures which have been carrying on for several years, I should be glad to have an opportunity of giving it an hearty negative. I take the liberty of signifying this to Your Grace, because indispensable business in the University, on the day appointed for the meeting, will prevent my attendance at Huntingdon; and, if the opinion of an absent

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man can be of any weight, I should be happy to have mine expressed by Your Grace.

"I am, &c.

"R. Watson."

In answer to a letter from the Duke of Manchester, informing me that a petition was intended, and pressing me to attend the county meeting, I sent the following reply.

"My Lord Duke, Cambridge, Jan. 13th, 1780.

"It gives me real concern that public business, which cannot be put off, requires my presence at Cambridge on the day fixed for the county meeting at Huntingdon. Would to God there may be virtue and good sense enough in the kingdom to second the endeavours of those who are doing all they can to save their country; but the influence of the Crown (which has acquired its present strength more, perhaps, from the additional increase of empire, commerce, and national wealth, than from any criminal desire to subvert the constitution,) has pervaded, I fear, the whole mass of the people. *Every man of consequence almost in the kingdom, has a son, relation, friend, or dependant, whom he wishes to provide for; and, unfortunately for the liberty of this country, the Crown has the means of gratifying the expectation of them all.*

"I do not think so ill of mankind, but that some men of integrity may be found who, in their public conduct, prefer the consciousness of acting right to every prospect of advantage; but their number is comparatively small, and is decreasing every day. The proposed petition to parliament is so true in its principles, so divested of party prejudices, so temperate in its expressions, and every

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way so adapted to do good, that I cannot question but it will meet with the approbation of the honest, the sensible, and the disinterested of all sides. For my part, I beg leave to give it, with all possible truth and good conscience, my most hearty concurrence.

"I am, &c.

"R. Watson."

The Duke of Manchester published these two letters without my privity; he ought certainly to have had my permission to have done it, but the publication gave me no concern; the letters contained my real sentiments, and I had no fear of having my sentiments known. I had not the usual prudence, shall I call it, or selfish caution, of my profession at any time of life, — *Ortus a quercu non a salice*, I knew not how to bend my principles to the circumstances of the times. I could not adopt that versatility of sentiment which Lord Bacon, with his wonted sagacity, but with more of worldly wisdom than of honour, recommends in his eighth book *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, as necessary to a man occupied in the fabrication of his own fortune: *Ingenia*, he says, *gravia et solennia, et mutare nescia, plus plerumque habeant dignitatis quam felicitatis. Hoc vero vitium* (I cannot esteem it a *vitium*) *in aliquibus a natura penitus insitum est, qui suopte ingenio sunt viscosi, et nodosi, et ad versandum inepti.* Were this viscosity, this nodosity of temper somewhat more common amongst us, (especially amongst the members of both Houses of Parliament,) I cannot think that either the public interest or private respectability of character would be lessened thereby. My Fast Sermon was eagerly bought up; the city of London purchased a whole edition of one thousand copies, which they distributed *gratis*. The

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Archbishop of Canterbury (Cornwallis) had expressed himself rather petulantly, in the presence of Lord Camden, against my sermon, "The Principles of the Revolution vindicated," and was reproved for it by His Lordship, who told him, that it contained the principles in which His Grace, as well as himself, had been educated. I sent a copy of my Fast Sermon to him with the following letter:

"My Lord Archbishop, Cambridge, Feb. 7. 1780.

"One of my sermons has, I have been informed, met with Your Grace's disapprobation; and this may have a similar fate. I have no wish but to speak what appears to me to be the truth upon every occasion, and never yet thought of pleasing any person or party when I spoke from the pulpit; so that, if I am in an error, it is at least both involuntary and disinterested. I never come to London; but my situation in this place, sufficiently difficult and laborious, gives me, in the opinion of many, a right not to be overlooked, and it certainly gives me a right not to be misunderstood by the head of the Church.

"I am, &c.

"R. Watson."

This letter was not at all calculated to promote a good understanding between the Archbishop and myself: but I was very indifferent about it, and I never afterwards troubled myself with him; for I had no opinion of his abilities, and he was so wife-ridden I had no opinion of his politics. My predecessor had been fifteen, and I had been nine years Professor of Divinity, without either of us having been noticed, as to preferment, by

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either the Archbishop or the ministers of the Crown; and I had more pleasure in letting the Archbishop see that I was not to be intimidated, than I should have had in receiving from him the best thing in his gift, after a long servile attention.

My temper could never brook submission to the ordinary means of ingratiating myself with great men; and hence Dr. Hallifax, (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph,) whose temper was different, called me one of the Βιαζαι; and he was right enough in the denomination. I was determined to be advanced in my profession by force of desert, or not at all. It has been said, (I believe by D'Alembert,) that the highest offices in church and state resemble a pyramid whose top is accessible to only two sorts of animals, eagles and reptiles. My pinions were not strong enough to pounce upon its top, and I scorned by creeping to ascend its summit. Not that a bishoprick was then or ever an object of my ambition; for I considered the acquisition of it as no proof of personal merit, inasmuch as bishopricks are as often given to the flattering dependants, or to the unlearned younger branches of noble families, as to men of the greatest erudition; and I considered the profession of it as a frequent occasion of personal demerit; for I saw the generality of the Bishops bartering their independence and the dignity of their order for the chance of a translation, and polluting Gospel-humility by the pride of prelacy. I used then to say, and I say so still, render the office of a bishop respectable by giving some civil distinction to its possessor, in order that his example may have more weight with both the laity and clergy. Annex to each bishoprick some portion of the royal ecclesiastical patronage which is now pros-

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tituted by the Chancellor and the minister of the day to the purpose of parliamentary corruption, that every Bishop may have means sufficient to reward all the deserving clergy of his diocese.

Give every Bishop income enough, not for display of worldly pomp and fashionable luxury, but to enable him to maintain works of charity, and to make a decent provision for his family: but having done these things for him, take from him all hopes of a translation by equalizing the bishopricks. Oblige him to a longer residence in his diocese than is usually practised, that he may do the proper work of a Bishop; that he may direct and inspect the flock of Christ; that by his exhortations he may confirm the unstable, by his admonitions reclaim the reprobate, and by the purity of his life render religion amiable and interesting to all.

About this time my friend General Honeywood offered to give me for my life, and for the life of my wife, a neat house at the end of his park at Markshall in Essex. The situation was sufficiently attractive, and I wanted a place to retire to occasionally from my engagements at Cambridge; but I thought as Marmontel had done on a similar present being offered him by M. de Marigny, *ce don etoit une chaine, et je n'en voulois point porter.*

In a little time after the publication of my Fast Sermon, a printed Letter was addressed to me by an anonymous correspondent. The Letter was written with some spirit, but with little argument. Not being of a resentful temper, I sent the following letter to the publisher of the pamphlet, and desired him to communicate it to the author.

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" Sir,

" You have thought me worthy of your public correspondence. Whether you are really the old friend you pretend to be or not, permit me to assure you that I could wish you would come and spend a few days with me; my mind is open to conviction; your conversation might convert me, or mine might have the same effect on you. I never can have the least resentment against any one who differs from me on principle, and you and I do not, probably, differ so much as you suppose; for my wishes to heal what I apprehend to be a dangerous wound in our civil constitution, will ever, I trust, be regulated by a regard for peace and Christian charity.

" Would to God the King of England had men of magnanimity enough in his councils, to advise him to meet, at this juncture, the wishes of his people; he would thereby become the idol of the nation, and the most admired monarch in Europe.

" *You mistake me, Sir, if you suppose that I have the most distant desire to make the democratic scale of the constitution outweigh the monarchical. Not one jot of the legal prerogative of the crown do I wish to see abolished; not one tittle of the King's influence in the state to be destroyed, except so far as it is extended over the representatives of the people.*

" There are a few mistakes in your publication, relative to the motives of my conduct. They may be involuntary mistakes, and as such I forgive them: they may be voluntary ones, and in that case, I wish you may forgive yourself. As to any asperities in sentiment or expression into which you may have been betrayed, from thinking me a sad political criminal, who deserved chastise-

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ment, I heartily forgive them all; because I am conscious that they are all unmerited.

" I am, &c.

" R. WATSON."

I presently received a flimsy answer, to which I returned the following reply: —

" Sir, " Cambridge, April 14th, 1780.

" THOUGH an hour's conversation would bring us better acquainted with each other's sentiments, than a month's correspondence can do, yet I should think myself deficient in the common intercourses of social life, if I did not return you my acknowledgements for the regard you have expressed for my private character: the compliments you have paid me must be attributed to your partiality more than to my desert.

" You must excuse me if I think that the principles which you admit to be true in theory cannot be applied in practice. I am not very sanguine in my expectations of reform, but much may be done by honest men, and without blood; and whether any thing can be done or not, still must I hold it to be the duty of each individual firmly to profess what appears to him to be right, though all the world should be on the other side of the question. By a contrary conduct, many a moral and political evil has been established, and many a virtue banished from amongst mankind; just as many a battle has been lost, from each man saying, why should not I run away as well as the rest? which might have been won, if each man had said, I will stand and do my duty, let others do what they will.

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"I am not the *Satan* you esteem me; for I do not think with Satan, that it is "better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven." But *I do think, that it is better to bask in the sun, and suck a fortuitous sustenance from the scanty drippings of the most barren rock in Switzerland, with freedom for my friend, than to batten as a slave, at the most luxurious table of the greatest despot on the globe.*

"The King, notwithstanding, has not a more loyal subject, nor the constitution a warmer friend.

"I most readily submit to laws made by men exercising their free powers of deliberation for the good of the whole; but when the legislative assembly is actuated by an extrinsic spirit, then submission becomes irksome to me; then I begin to be alarmed; knowing with Hooker, that to *live by one man's will, becomes the cause of all men's misery.* I dread despotism worse than death; and the despotism of a Parliament worse than that of a King; but I hope the time will never come, when it will be necessary for me to declare that I will submit to neither. I shall probably be rotten in my grave, before I see what you speak of, the tyranny of a George the Sixth, or of a Cromwell; and it may be that I want philosophy in interesting myself in political disquisitions, in apprehending what may never happen; but I conceive that I am to live in society in another state, and a sober attachment to theoretic principles of political truth cannot be an improper ingredient in a social character, either in this world or in the next.

"You think the county-members as obnoxious to influence as the borough-members. This theory is not confirmed by observation; for in the great division on the 6th of April, the boroughs of Cornwall alone furnished twenty-seven voters, and the Cinque Ports thirteen, in support of the influence of the crown, and all

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the counties in England and Wales did not furnish twelve. But I forbear entering into the argument of either your public or private letter. I am persuaded you mean as well as myself, and I leave the matter in dispute between us to the judgment of the public.

"I really have no fair ground of suspecting to whom it is that I am writing, nor have I any curiosity on the subject; it is enough for me to know that I am writing to a gentleman of genius and ability who wishes me no ill, and to one who is philosopher enough to excuse the diversities of men's opinions on most intellectual subjects, knowing that they are to be explained upon much the same principles by which he would explain the differences observable in their statures and complexions.

"I am, &c.

"R. WATSON."

I received another letter from my anonymous correspondent, in which he confessed that his pamphlet did not sell, and that my sermon was much read. He requested me at the same time not to publish his letters. Several years afterwards I understood that I was indebted to a man I had no acquaintance with (Mr. Cumberland) for this notice. Upon another occasion he published what he thought an answer to my letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I had too great contempt for his powers of argumentation to answer any thing he published against me: he had merit as a versifier and a writer of essays, but his head was not made for close reasoning. There are, says Locke, "some men of one, "some of two syllogisms and no more, and others that can "advance but one step further. These cannot always discern

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" that side on which the strongest proofs lie." Mr. Cumberland was at most a two syllogism man.

I had some time before this applied to the Duke of Rutland to forward a petition in Cambridgeshire upon the plan of the Yorkshire petition: but I soon found that even His Grace's concurrence could not conciliate to such a measure some of the leading gentlemen in the county. Many respectable families in Cambridgeshire had, during the preceding reign, been avowed Jacobites, and in this they were professed supporters of the Tory system. Passing, therefore, over the gentlemen, we got an hundred principal yeomen to sign a requisition to the sheriff to call a county-meeting. This requisition the sheriff refused to comply with: upon his refusal the meeting was called by the yeomen who had signed the requisition to the sheriff, and it was very well attended by persons of all ranks. The meeting was holden in the Senate-house-yard, as the county-hall could not contain the numbers, on the 25th of March, 1780. Lord Duncannon was appointed chairman of the meeting; and the following petition, which I had previously prepared, was read, and almost unanimously approved of; for, on a show of hands, only one or two were held up against it.

" To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled: the Petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Cambridge,

Sheweth,

" That your petitioners do thus publicly declare their entire and zealous approbation of the legislature of this country, as placed

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in the *free and independent* concurrence of King, Lords, and Commons, in preference to every other mode of civil government. That they anxiously wish the blessing of this form of legislation to be continued to their latest posterity, in its constitutional purity. That they seriously apprehend this form of legislation will be essentially *vitiated*, if not virtually *changed*, whenever the treasure and offices of the community shall be successfully employed to bring the representatives of the people under the undue influence of the executive government. That they conceive a strong tendency to the change is at present, and has formerly been too notorious to admit of doubt or to require proof. That they conceive every *system of public administration carried on by means of parliamentary corruption, however sanctioned by time, precedent, or authority, to be absolutely unjustifiable upon every principle of good sense, and sound policy; to be as dishonourable to the upright intentions of the Crown, as it is burdensome to the property and dangerous to the liberty of the people.*

"Your petitioners do therefore most solemnly apply themselves to the honour, the justice, the integrity of this honourable House, praying that effectual measures may be taken by this House, to enquire into and correct any gross abuses in the expenditure of public money, to reduce all exorbitant emoluments of office, to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions, and to use all such other constitutional means, as may tend to establish the independence of Parliament on the most lasting foundations.

"And your petitioners are the more earnest in their prayer, because they are of opinion that no other expedient can

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equally tend to heal our domestic divisions, to unite the whole nation in the warmest support of His Majesty's person and government, against the unprovoked hostilities of the house of Bourbon, and to put a final period to that primary source of national distress, the American war."

After the petition was agreed to by the county-meeting, a committee was established for promoting the object of the petition, and the meeting was adjourned to the 10th of the following April. The Duke of Rutland was made chairman of the committee, which consisted of fifty-one members. He requested that I would be a delegate from the county of Cambridge, to meet the delegates, which were to be sent from other counties, in London; but this office I refused to accept. He imagining that my refusal proceeded from an apprehension of being ill thought of at court, jocularly said, *You must be forced down the King's throat as well as the rest of us.* I assured him that my refusal proceeded from a regard to my situation; that I did not think it suitable to my station as a clergyman, and especially as a Professor of Divinity, to enter so deeply into political contentions.

On the 6th of April, four days before our second county-meeting, the House of Commons took the petitions of the people into consideration, and authenticated the grievances therein complained of. The minister was beat upon the main question, by a majority of 233 to 215. The three following resolutions were passed by the House on that ever memorable day.

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"1. That it is necessary to declare, that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

"2. That it is competent to the House of Commons to examine into, and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list revenues, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the wisdom of the House so to do.

"3. That it is the duty of the House of Commons to provide, as far as may be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the House from the different counties, cities, and towns of this kingdom."

Glorious resolutions these! fit to be inscribed on tablets of gold, and hung up in both Houses of Parliament, to inform succeeding ages, that the principles of the Revolution stimulated, in 1780, a majority of the House of Commons to struggle against the danger impending over the constitution from the increased and increasing influence of the Crown!!!

Before these resolutions were passed in the House of Commons, I had prepared a plan of association for the county of Cambridge, in which the main things insisted on were, the not suffering any candidate for the county to be at any expense, on account of the votes and interest of the associates,—and the not supporting any candidate at the next general election who would not engage to vote for triennial Parliaments. Despairing of rendering the electors honest, or the elected incorruptible at once, I thought that an election without expense, and a triennial Parliament, were the first means towards accomplishing a thorough reformation of the constitution. I differed in this opinion from some of those

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whom I considered as the first Whigs of the country; but their arguments appeared to me to bear a temporising cast, and as I had no sinister end in view, I could not bring myself to give up my own opinion to theirs. Mr. Burke had much influence with them; I admired, as every body did, the talents, but I did not admire the principles, of that gentleman. His opposition to the clerical petition first excited my suspicion of his being an high churchman in religion, and his virulent abuse of Doctor Price persuaded me that he was a Tory, perhaps, indeed, an aristocratic Tory, in the state. Our petition had been signed by near a thousand freeholders in less than a week; there was a great dislike in the county to an association, and thinking that no good could be derived from an association, that was not generally approved of, I drew up the following paper, as a more conciliatory measure to the county, and a more respectful one to the House of Commons. The Duke of Rutland, as Chairman of the Committee, read both the plan of association, and the following paper, to the Committee before we went to the County Hall, on the day appointed for the meeting; and a majority of the Committee being of opinion, that an association should not then take place, the following paper was delivered to Lord Duncannon, Chairman of the meeting, and read by him to the freeholders assembled in the County Hall on the 16th of April, 1780: —

"Whereas the Committee, appointed at the last county meeting, for effectually promoting the object of the petition to Parliament then agreed to; and for preparing a plan of association on legal and constitutional grounds, to support the laudable reform therein recommended; and for adopting such other measures as may

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conduce to restore the independence of Parliament, have received authentic information, that the general allegation of the said petition, and of many other petitions from various counties, cities, and boroughs, respecting the influence of the executive government over the representatives of the people, hath been taken into consideration, and admitted by the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled to be just and well founded; and whereas the said Commons have resolved, that the increased and increasing influence of the Crown (or in words to that effect) ought to be diminished; and whereas this very important resolution was followed by other resolutions, tending to a laudable reform in the expenditure of public money, and to the establishing the independence of Parliament on the most lasting foundations: the Committee, taking these and other circumstances into their most serious consideration, and being desirous of showing all proper respect to the deliberations, and of placing a due reliance on the discretion and integrity of the representatives of the people, do for these reasons decline, for the present, proposing any plan of association, sincerely trusting that the House of Commons, having made so noble a beginning, will be animated with a proper zeal to persevere in deserving the highest confidence, and the warmest thanks, of their constituents and fellow-subjects. The Committee are thoroughly sensible that from the vicissitudes incident to all human establishments, the civil constitution of this country hath suffered in the course of less than a century some change, and that it doth at present stand in need of some reform; but whether that reform may be best accomplished by recurring to triennial Parliaments; by disfranchising the lesser boroughs; by increasing the number of the Knights of the Shires; by regulating the ex-

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penditure of public money; or by other means, they do not at present think proper to declare their opinions; being persuaded that the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having signified their inclination to make a reform, do not stand in need of being instructed in the mode of doing it. The Committee, being actuated by the most unfeigned regard for the constitution of their country, feel a satisfaction which cannot be expressed, in hoping that the representatives of the people, called upon, as they are, by the voice of the people, will unite in healing our internal divisions, by confirming our confidence in their integrity; *will conspire as zealously in protecting the prerogative of the Crown from all attempts to lessen it, as in protecting the representatives of the people from that corrupting influence, which forebodes the ruin of the constitution, and which they in their wisdom have already resolved ought to be diminished.*"

This paper was agreed to by the meeting, which was then adjourned *sine die*, subject to the call of the Committee; and the Committee was adjourned *sine die*, subject to the call of the Chairman.

Upon subsequent questions in the House of Commons, which tended to realise the general proposition concerning the reduction of the influence of the Crown, the Minister so successfully exerted that influence, that nothing effectual was done, and he continued in office, contrary to the sense of the people, shewn not only by the petitions of the people out of Parliament, but by their representatives in Parliament, who had, on more occasions than one, out-voted him on important questions. In preceding reigns ministers were dismissed when they lost the confidence of the

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people, but there was no Pretender to the throne of George the Third!!!

An insurrection, on the score of religion, soon after happened in London; and this circumstance, though wholly unconnected with the petitioning interest of the kingdom, very much disheartened the friends of reform, and imboldened the Tories to circulate the basest calumnies against the principal Lords and Commons then in opposition to the ministry. I myself saw a letter from the then Archbishop of York (Markham) accusing them of being the fomentors of the riots. I mention this, not with a desire of stigmatising a man, in many respects estimable, but to guard other zealots from supporting their party by uncharitable judgments—an "evil tongue," is censurable in any man, but is past bearing in an Archbishop. I from this time clearly saw that the Crown, through the instrumentality of influenced Parliaments, could do any thing. The mischief of the American war was carried on under the sanction of Parliament, and every other mischief will be carried on in the same way; for a minister would want common sense to run any risk in taking upon himself responsibility for obnoxious measures, when he could secure the consent of Parliament to almost any measure he might propose. I see not, in the nature of our government, any remedy for this evil. You cannot take from the Crown the means of influencing Parliament, by lodging these means in any other hands, without destroying the constitution, and you cannot (such is the largeness of your debt, your commerce, your army, your navy, and the extent of your empire) extinguish those means. A few real patriots may sigh over this tendency of our constitution to despotism, and it may, from time to time, meet with some obstruction, not only

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from the virtue of individuals in and out of Parliament, but from the moderation and the wisdom of the Crown itself, but it will ultimately prevail. Such were my sentiments above thirty years ago; and nothing has since happened to make me change them, but many, many things to confirm them.

In May, 1780, I published a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely, at my Primary Visitation. This Charge was principally intended to recommend an establishment at Cambridge, for the express purpose of translating and publishing Oriental Manuscripts wherever found. And I hinted, that the then litigated estate of Sir *Jacob Downing* might, when adjudged to the University, be properly employed in supporting an Oriental College. This Discourse was republished, without my consent being asked, at Calcutta in 1785, and made the first article of the first volume of the Asiatic Miscellany. Among other complimentary letters sent me on this occasion, I received one from Dr. Keene, Bishop of Ely, in which he expressed his wishes, that I had formed my character solely upon the learning and ability (he was pleased to say) I possessed, and not on politics. This bishop of Ely had been made a bishop by the Duke of Newcastle, for supporting the Whig interest in the University of Cambridge in the late reign; I therefore instantly returned him the following answer, which was no more than his apostasy from Whiggism deserved: —

" My Lord, Cambridge, May 28. 1786.

" I AM much flattered by Your Lordship's approbation of my Charge. My politics may hurt my interest, but they will not

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hurt my honour. They are the politics of *Locke*, of *Somers*, and of *Hooker*, and in the reign of George the Second they were the politics of this University.

" I am, &c.

" R. WATSON."

Seeing the readiness with which the petition had been signed by the freeholders in the county of Cambridge, I persuaded the Duke of Rutland to offer his brother (Lord Robert Manners) for the county, at the general election in 1780. The two other candidates were Mr. Yorke (the present Lord Hardwicke), and Sir Sampson Gideon (now Lord Eardley). The whole planning and conducting of this business fell upon me. My tolerating principles had gained me the esteem of the Presbyterian Dissenters, and their support contributed essentially to the carrying the election on the 14th of September, 1780. The poll was finished, by my contrivance, as to the manner of taking the votes in a few hours, by which a very great expense was saved to all the candidates, and all tumult was avoided. With the transactions by which the borough of Cambridge was afterwards thrown into the power of the Rutland family I had no concern: I would not become an instrument in ministerial traffic for a rotten borough.

In February, 1781, I received a letter from the Duke of Rutland, informing me that the rectory of Knaptoft in Leicestershire, in his patronage, was vacant, and offering me the presentation to it. This favour was given me without any solicitation on my part, and it was given me I believe not so much as a reward for the service I had rendered him in the Cambridgeshire election,

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as for the extraordinary attention I had paid to him during the course of his education at Cambridge. I was just then printing the first two volumes of my Chemical Essays, and I had great pleasure in dedicating them to His Grace.

On the 26th of July, 1781, I was seized with a dangerous fever, the peccant matter of which being probably locked up by an improper use of large doses of bark, reduced me in a few weeks to the lowest state. When the faculty had given me over, and I was in a state of insensibility, my wife saved my life by boldly giving me at once a whole paper of James's Powder; it operated as an emetic, I discharged a vast quantity of putrid bile, &c. and slept soundly for seven hours after the operation. I continued, however, still very weak, and went in October into Westmoreland, to try if my native air would re-establish my health; but neither air nor diet, nor the art of healing, nor a much better thing than the art of healing, a good constitution, have enabled me to get the better of the original disorder, which Sir Richard Jebb called a paralysis of the stomach. Our two principal physicians at Cambridge showed the sagacity of their judgment, for Professor Plumptree said, that I should take a great deal of pulling down; and Dr. Glynne said, that I should never get the better of the disorder. I am not yet quite pulled down, nor have I any prospect of getting well. It has been a great happiness to me during this long illness, that my spirits have never failed me. I have considered, during every period of my life, pain as a positive evil which every percipient being must be desirous of escaping; but death is a door of entrance into a better life, which may, by a sincere Christian, be considered as a blessing—*Thanks*

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be to God for the inestimable gift of eternal life, through Jesus Christ!

In March, 1782, Soame Jenyns published his Disquisitions on Various Subjects. The seventh disquisition was wholly opposite to the principles of government which I had maintained in the sermon intitled, The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated; and that sermon was evidently glanced at in some parts of the Disquisition. This Toryism vexed me, and though I was very ill at the time, I instantly wrote an answer to it. I did not get Mr. Jenyns's book till Thursday in the afternoon, and I sent off the answer to it, to be printed in London, on the evening of the next day, under the title of, An Answer to the Disquisition on Government, in a letter to the author of Disquisitions on Several Subjects.

I had severity enough in my disposition, had I indulged it, to have written bitter replies to whatever was published against me; but partly from the pride of conscious political innocence, and partly from a principle of Christian forbearance, I took no notice of the senseless malignity of any of them.

On the 25th of March, 1782, a total change of ministry took place. I happened then to be in London, and had the honour of dining with Lord Rockingham on that day. When we were alone after dinner, he gave me an account of the manner in which the change of administration had been effected; and he read to me the several propositions to which he required the King's explicit consent, before he would accept the office of First Lord of the

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Treasury. The propositions were of the utmost public importance; such as,—There being no *veto* put on the acknowledging the independence of America—The suffering the Contractors and Custom-House Officers' Bill to pass—The reduction of the influence of the Crown, by the abolition of useless offices—The introduction of a system of general economy in every department of the state.

In the course of the conversation on public matters, which I then had with the Minister, I took occasion to say, that among other subjects of reform I hoped he would think of reforming the bench of Bishops. He asked, by what means?—I answered, the best means might not be practicable without exciting too great a ferment in the country, but that the rendering the Bishops *independent* in the House of Lords by taking away translations, would, I thought, be a measure exceedingly useful in a political light; this, I added, might be done without injuring any individual, by annexing, as the sees became vacant, part of the property of the rich bishoprics to the poorer ones, so as to bring the whole as near as possible to an equality. The revenues of the bishoprics, when thus equalised, would, I apprehended, be a sufficient maintenance for all the bishops, without suffering any of them to hold *commendams*. His Lordship thanked me for the hint, and said, that he should be happy to have an opportunity of serving the public in serving me. I answered, that I would never be troublesome to him in asking for any thing.

Several counties presented addresses to the King on the change of the ministry; and I drew up the following for the County of

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Cambridge, which was unanimously approved of at a County meeting on the 8th of June, 1782.

" Most gracious Sovereign,

" We Your Majesty's loyal subjects, freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Cambridge, beg leave to approach your throne; and we approach it with, we *presume*, a well-grounded confidence that you will be graciously pleased to accept our thanks, which we now tender to Your Majesty, for your paternal goodness to your people, shown in your confiding your councils and the administration of public measures to men of approved integrity, consummate ability, intelligent activity, undoubted loyalty, and firm attachment to the genuine constitution of their country.

" Under the auspices of such an administration, we trust that our enemies of the house of Bourbon will yet be humbled; that our ancient Allies will see cause to regret their (Holland leagued with France) new connections, and that our brethren in America will not be averse from peace. — We sincerely congratulate Your Majesty on the success of your arms in the East and West Indies as a probable mean of effectuating these ends.

" Persuaded that by such ministers our money will not be misapplied, we will with cheerfulness submit to any burden, which may enable Your Majesty to convince the Powers of Europe, that you have the singular felicity of reigning over a *free and magnanimous people, impatient of the most distant tendency to despotism, but above all others affectionate to their Prince, and zealous for his glory.*

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" Convinced that a system of parliamentary corruption is derogatory from the wisdom and equity of Your Majesty's government; expensive to the state, and ruinous to the constitution; we beg leave to express our hearty approbation of the measures which Your Majesty's ministers have taken in parliament to destroy it; and at the same time to testify our most cordial thanks to Your Majesty for the greatness of mind displayed in your concurring with such salutary councils. *What more remains to be done, we doubt not will be done, with as just a regard to the monarchical as to the democratical part of the constitution; for we are not of those who wish the constitution were altered, but restored to its original purity.*"

In composing this address, and indeed in all my other political writings and speeches, I seem to have forgotten that I lived in *Romuli fæce*, and not in *Platonis* Πολιτεια.

On coming home (July 2. 1782) from creating the doctors in the Senate-House, I was informed that Lord Rockingham had died the day before. This would have been a dreadful blow to a man of ambition, but it gave me no concern on my own account; for though he had flatteringly told me, that he was so perfectly satisfied with my public conduct, that he should be glad of an opportunity of serving the country in serving me, yet I had no expectation that he had then an intention (as I was afterwards told by Lord John Cavendish he had) of promoting me to a bishopric. I sincerely regretted the great loss which the public sustained by his death; for he was a minister of greater ability than was generally believed, and he possessed that integrity of

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constitutional principle, without which the greatest ability is calculated only to do great mischief.

When Lord John Cavendish informed me of Lord Rockingham's intention towards me, he informed me also, that I might apply with probable effect either to the Duke of Grafton or the Duke of Rutland; but I made no application to either of them; I called however at Euston on the following Monday, in my way to Yarmouth.

The Duke of Grafton then told me that the Bishop of Landaff (Barrington) would probably be translated to the See of Salisbury, which had become vacant a few days before the death of Lord Rockingham, and that he had asked Lord Shelburne, who had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury, to permit me to succeed to the bishopric of Landaff. This unsolicited kindness of the Duke of Grafton gratified my feelings very much, for my spirit of independence was ever too high for my circumstances.—Lord Shelburne, the Duke informed me, seemed very well disposed towards me, but would not suffer him to write to me; and he had asked the Duke whether he thought the appointment would be agreeable to the Duke of Rutland. Notwithstanding this hint, I could not bring myself to write to the Duke of Rutland, who had not at that time forsaken the friends of Lord Rockingham. I knew his great regard for me, but I abhorred the idea of pressing a young nobleman to ask a favour of the new minister, which might in its consequences sully the purity of his political principles, and be the means of attaching him without due consideration to Lord Shelburne's administration. Not that I had

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any reason to think ill of the new minister: I was personally unacquainted with him, but I was no stranger to the talents he had shown in opposing Lord North's American war; and Lord Rockingham had told me, that Lord Shelburne had behaved very honourably to him in not accepting the Treasury, which the King had offered to him in preference to Lord Rockingham. I mention this circumstance in mere justice to Lord Shelburne; whose constitutional principles and enlarged views of public policy rendered him peculiarly fitted to sustain the character of a great statesman in the highest office.

On the 12th of the same month, the Duke of Rutland wrote to me at Yarmouth — that he had *determined to support Lord Shelburne's administration*, as he had received the most positive assurances, that the independency of America was to be acknowledged, and the wishes of the people relative to a parliamentary reform granted. He further told me, that the bishopric of Landaff, he had reason to believe, would be disposed of in my favour if *he asked it*; and desired to know, whether, if the offer should be made, I would accept it. I returned for answer that I conceived there could be no dishonour in *my accepting a bishopric* from an administration which he had previously *determined* to support; and that I had expected Lord Shelburne would have given me the bishopric without application, but that if I must owe it to the interposition of some great man, I had rather owe it to that of His Grace than to any other.

On Sunday, July 21st, I received an express from the Duke of Rutland, informing me that he had seen Lord Shelburne, who

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had *anticipated* his wishes, by mentioning me for the vacant bishopric *before he had asked it.* I kissed hands on the 26th of that month, and was received, as the phrase is, *very graciously;* this was the first time that I had ever been at St. James's.

In this manner did I acquire a bishopric. But I have no great reason to be proud of the promotion; for I think I owed it not to any regard which he who gave it me had to the zeal and industry with which I had for many years discharged the functions, and fulfilled the duties, of an academic life; but to the opinion which, from my Sermon, he had erroneously entertained, that I was a warm, and might become an useful partisan. Lord Shelburne, indeed, had expressed to the Duke of Grafton his expectation, that I would occasionally write a pamphlet for their administration. The Duke did me justice in assuring him, that he had perfectly mistaken my character; that though I might write on an abstract question, concerning government or the principles of legislation, it would not be with a view of assisting any administration.

I had written in support of the principles of the Revolution, because I thought those principles useful to the state, and I saw them vilified and neglected; I had taken part with the people in their petitions against the influence of the Crown, because I thought that influence would destroy the constitution, and I saw that it was increasing; I had opposed the supporters of the American war, because I thought that war not only to be inexpedient, but unjust. But all this was done from my own sense of things, and without the least view of pleasing any party: I did, however, happen to please a party, and they made me a bishop.

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I have hitherto followed, and shall continue to follow, my own judgment in all public transactions; all parties now understand this, and it is probable that I may continue to be Bishop of Landaff as long as I live. Be it so. Wealth and power are but secondary objects of pursuit to a thinking man, especially to a thinking Christian.

At my first interview with Lord Shelburne, he expressed a desire that we might become well acquainted; and said, that as he had *Dunning* to assist him in law points, and *Barry* in army concerns, he should be happy to consult me in church matters. I determined to make use of this overture as a mean of doing, as I hoped, some service to religion, and to the Established Church; which, from a most serious and unprejudiced consideration, I had long thought stood in great need of a fundamental reform.

A few days after this first interview, the Minister told me, that he had from the first fixed upon me for the bishopric of Landaff. I firmly asked him, why he had not then given it to me, without waiting for the interference of any person? He said, he had given it without being asked by the Duke of Rutland; but he acknowledged that he wanted to please the Duke in the business. I replied, that I supposed every minister was desirous of making a piece of preferment go as far as possible in creating obligations; but that I should have been better pleased had he given me the bishopric at once. I then informed him, that I had something to say to him which required a little leisure to discuss. He appointed a day on which I was to dine with him; and on that day (September 5th, 1782,) I delivered into his

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hands the following paper, the subjects of which had much engaged my attention before I was a bishop, and I did not think, that by becoming a bishop I ought to change the principles which I had imbibed from the works of Mr. Locke: —

" There are several circumstances respecting the *Doctrine*, the *Jurisdiction*, and the *Revenue* of the Church of England, which would probably admit a temperate reform. If it should be thought right to attempt making a change in any of them, it seems most expedient to begin with the revenue.

" The two following hints on that subject may not be undeserving Your Lordship's consideration: — First, a bill to render the bishoprics more equal to each other, both with respect to income and patronage; by annexing, as the richer bishoprics become vacant, a part of their revenues, and a part of their patronage, to the poorer. By a bill of this kind, the bishops would be freed from the necessity of holding ecclesiastical preferments, *in commendam*, —a practice which bears hard on the rights of the inferior clergy. Another probable consequence of such a bill would be, a longer residence of the bishops in their several dioceses; from which the best consequences, both to religion, the morality of the people, and to the true credit of the church, might be expected; for the two great inducements, to wish for translations, and consequently to reside in London, namely, superiority of income, and excellency of patronage, would in a great measure be removed.

" Second, a bill for appropriating, as they become vacant, an half, or a third part, of the income of every deanery, prebend, or canonry, of the churches of Westminster, Windsor, Canterbury,

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Christ Church, Worcester, Durham, Ely, Norwich, &c. to the same purposes, *mutatis mutandis*, as the first fruits and tenths were appropriated by Queen Anne. By a bill of this kind, a decent provision would be made for the inferior clergy, in a third or fourth part of the time which Queen Anne's bounty alone will require to effect. A decent provision being once made for every officiating minister in the church, the *residence of the clergy on their cures might more reasonably be required*, than it can be at present, and the licence of holding more livings than one, be restricted."

When I delivered this paper to Lord Shelburne, I told him that I had long weighed the subject, but that I was not disposed to introduce it into Parliament, if it met with his disapprobation, as I neither wanted to embarrass his administration, nor wished to risk the loss of the plan, by having it brought forward in opposition to the ministry. Lord Shelburne having, at a former interview with him, asked, *en passant*, if nothing could be gotten from the church, towards alleviating the burdens of the state, I observed to him on this occasion, that the whole revenue of the church would not yield, if it were equally divided, which could not be thought of, above 150*l.* a year to each clergyman, a provision which, I presumed, he would not think too ample; so that any diminution of the church revenue seemed to me highly inexpedient in a political light, unless government would be contented to have a beggarly and illiterate clergy, an event which no wise minister would ever wish to see. Thus, at the very outset of my episcopal life, did I endeavour to protect the church, though my enemies have constantly represented me as desirous to injure it.

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Being strongly persuaded of the utility of my plan, I thought the best way of accomplishing it would be to state it clearly, and to submit it to the perusal of those who might be most instrumental in forwarding or obstructing it. In pursuit of this idea, I drew up a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and privately printed four copies. I sent one copy to Lord Shelburne, one to the Duke of Grafton, one to the Duke of Rutland, and one to Lord John Cavendish, with a letter to each of them.

Letter to Lord Shelburne, with a printed copy of one to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

" My Lord, " Cambridge, Nov. 10. 1782.

" When Your Lordship first acquainted me with His Majesty's intention to promote me to the See of Landaff, you not only informed me of the sincere dispositions of both Their Majesties to serve the cause of Christianity, but you wished me to turn my thoughts that way: I herewith send Your Lordship some observations on a Reform in the Church, which I am firmly convinced, might be very quietly made, and which would be exceedingly useful in a religious view. I wish Your Lordship to let me know whether you see any reason against submitting this matter to the judgment of the public. If, after it has been thoroughly sifted, it should be found reasonable to adopt the change proposed, Your Lordship will derive no discredit from supporting it, nor will the support of it create any disturbance to your administration.

" I flatter myself, that I am writing to a minister who does not come under Grotius's description; and indeed, unless I could disbelieve the testimony of all who know him, I may be sure

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that he does not: *Politici qui sæpe dogmata vera a falsis, salubria a noxiis, non norunt distinguere, omnia nova suspecta habent.*

"Perhaps there would be no impropriety in laying the proposed change in the establishment of the church, before His Majesty, as being, under Christ, its chief head. I am so far from having any objection to this, that I could wish, were it proper, it might be done; and whether it be proper or not, I beg leave to crave Your Lordship's good offices, in assuring His Majesty of my sincere respect and duty in this, and every other matter civil and religious.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

My political principles, I knew, were not of a courtly cast, and I had expressed myself so unequivocally on that subject in my sermon on "The Principles of the Revolution vindicated," that I wanted to prevent the King's being prejudiced on that account against my plan; and I thought if he read the letter calmly, he could not disapprove of any part of it.

Lord Shelburne's Answer to my Letter.

"My dear Lord,

"I HAVE read your letter to the Archbishop attentively, though hastily. I own to you that I am satisfied that it is impossible to effect either of the propositions contained in it in the present moment, and therefore only, improper to attempt either at this moment. I trust as you do me so much justice in other respects you will in this, by supposing me penetrated with the horrid

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situation of the lower clergy, and thoroughly sensible of the advantages which would result to society and the public from making it more comfortable and more respectable whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself. I have not time to tell Your Lordship all that occurs to me on this subject by letter. I hope we shall meet on the 26th, and to have frequent opportunities of conversing with Your Lordship on these and other matters. In the mean time, if I might take the liberty, I would earnestly dissuade any immediate publication.

" I am, &c.

" SHELBURNE."

To this letter of Lord Shelburne's I sent the following answer, though I was sensible that non-acquiescence in a minister's opinions, was not the way to conciliate his regard.

" My Lord, Cambridge, Nov. 15. 1782.

" THE impossibility of effecting either of the propositions in the present moment (supposing it in deference to Your Lordship's judgment, rather than admitting it to exist) is certainly a good reason for not bringing the matter at the present moment before Parliament; but it is no reason, I humbly think, against doing all that was intended by the letter, submitting it to public discussion. I have this business so much at heart, that in order to effect it I will readily abandon the great prospects which my time of life, connections, and situation open to me, in as probable a manner as they are opened to most other bishops on the bench. I anxiously wish for Your Lordship's concurrence. It is a good work, it will give all those who forward it outward credit and in-

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ward content. I pray you think of it at your leisure. I will certainly postpone the publication till I have seen Your Lordship.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

In my letter to Lord John Cavendish, who was then in opposition, (and whom I did not acquaint with my correspondence with Lord Shelburne, hoping by that means to have secured the concurrence of both parties,) I requested him simply to tell me, whether he thought that the intended publication would do me any discredit, or the public any service. I had a good opinion of Lord John's ability and integrity, and weight with the House of Commons, and I shall neither hurt the cause nor his character by publishing the answer which he sent me.

" My Lord, Billing, Nov. 21. 1782.

" I WAS absent from home all last week, so that I did not get your letter till my return. You do me too much honour in thinking my opinion on such a subject worthy any notice. I have read the letter to the Archbishop with my best attention, and am perfectly satisfied that it ought not to be the cause of discredit to any man, but on the contrary do him the highest honour. The objects of it are not only rational, but such as seem to me a great improvement both in a religious and political light; and are stated with great clearness and temper. As to the chance of doing good I cannot be so sanguine, as I should think it had not at present much chance of success. Corrections of this sort are not often brought to bear at the first trial. You are a much better

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judge than I am how far such a proposal will be agreeable to the cautious disposition of your brethren.

"I am, &c.

"J. CAVENDISH."

Upon my going to London at the meeting of parliament, I saw the Duke of Grafton, and had a long conversation with him upon the subject of my letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He approved of the plans, and expressed his approbation of them in the most open and sincere manner, but told me that Lord Shelburne was against the immediate publication of the letter, for reasons which did not at all satisfy him. The Duke informed me that he had communicated the matter to Lord Camden. I soon after saw Lord Camden, when he was pleased to say, "that every line in the letter was right, but that it would take me twenty years to overcome men's prejudices." When he was afterwards President of the Council for many years, he never gave me the least intimation of his being disposed to assist in promoting a measure which he had so much approved.

On the 29th of the same month I dined with Lord Shelburne. In a conversation after dinner he requested me not to publish the letter to the Archbishop. I asked him why? He replied, it was not the time! That, I rejoined, was always the answer of a statesman when he disliked a proposition, and that I wished he would plainly say, that he disliked it. He observed, that was not the case, but that he wished it to be put off a year or two. Having had reason to suspect that he had a disposition to be nibbling at the revenues of the Church, and being certain that they only

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wanted to be generally understood in order to their being secured, I boldly told him, that I would not put off the publication if there was any intention of taking any thing from the Church for the benefit of the State. He assured me that he had no such intention, and that the Universities, too, should remain untouched, I then said to him, that I did not see how I could answer to my conscience deferring the publication of the plan which appeared to me so very useful. He replied, that he would answer it to me with his existence, that the business should at another time be done much more effectually. I was unwilling that this solemn asseveration should be retracted or explained away. I did not therefore open my lips in reply, but bowing took my leave.— Thus did I, before I had been six months on the bench, attempt in the most prudent way I could think of, to make a beginning of that reform in the Church, which I sincerely thought would be for the good of mankind, the stability of the Church establishment, and the advancement of genuine Christianity; a review of the doctrine and of the discipline of our Church, and a complete purgation of it from the dregs of Popery, and the impiety of Calvinism, would have properly followed a wise distribution of its revenue; and the liberation of its Bishops from ministerial influence would have destroyed that secularity, to the attacks of which they are exposed, and rendered them more Christian. I have never lost sight of this object, and when in the year 1800, a kind of opening was given me to be of service in this matter, it will appear that I did not neglect it.

Towards the end of the following February (1783) Lord Shelburne resigned the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and in

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April following a new ministry, usually called the *Coalition* Ministry, was formed; a great cry was every where raised against Lord Shelburne, whether justly or not may be doubted; I will mention, however, one anecdote to his honour as a man of integrity; his ability was never questioned: — On the day in which the peace was to be debated in the two Houses of Parliament, I happened to stand next him in the House of Lords, and asked him, whether he was to be turned out by the disapprobation of the Commons; he replied, that he could not certainly tell what would be the temper of that House, but he could say that he had not expended a shilling of the public money to procure its approbation, though he well knew that above sixty thousand pounds had been expended in procuring an approbation of the peace in 1763.

After the death of Lord Rockingham, the King had appointed Lord Shelburne to the Treasury, without the knowledge, at least without waiting for the recommendation of the Cabinet. This exertion of the prerogative being contrary to the manner in which government had been carried on during the reigns of George the First and Second by the great Whig families of the country, and differences also having happened between Lord Shelburne and some of the principal members of the Cabinet, even during the life-time of Lord Rockingham, many of them resigned their situations on his being made Prime Minister, and united with Lord North and his friends to force him from his office. From the moment this coalition was formed between Lord North and the men who had for many years reprobated, in the strongest terms, his political principles, I lost all confidence in public men.

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I had, through life, been a strenuous supporter of the principles of the Revolution, and had attached myself, in some degree, to that party which professed to act upon them: but in their coalescing with the Tories to turn out Lord Shelburne, they destroyed my opinion of their disinterestedness and integrity. I clearly saw that they sacrificed their public principles to private pique, and their honour to their ambition. The badness of the peace, and the supposed danger of trusting power in the hands of Lord Shelburne, were the reasons publicly given for the necessity of forming the coalition: personal dislike of him, and a desire to be in power themselves, were, in my judgment, the real ones. This dissension of the Whigs has done more injury to the constitution, than all the violent attacks on the liberty of the subject which were subsequently made during Mr. Pitt's administration. The restriction of the liberty of the press, the long-continued suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, the sedition-bills, and other infringements of the Bill of Rights, were, from the turbulent circumstances of the times, esteemed by many quite salutary and necessary measures: but the apostasy from principle in the coalition-ministry ruined the confidence of the country, and left it without hope of soon seeing another respectable opposition on constitutional grounds; and it stamped on the hearts of millions an impression which will never be effaced, that *Patriotism is a scandalous game played by public men for private ends, and frequently little better than a selfish struggle for power.* This unfortunate, may it not be called unprincipled, junction with Lord North, gave great offence to many of the warmest friends of the late Lord Rockingham, and, amongst others, to myself; and I made no scruple of expressing my opinion of it.

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This, as I expected, was taken very ill by my former friends. It is a principle with all parties to require from their adherents an implicit approbation of all their measures; my spirit was ever too high to submit to such a disgraceful bond of political connection. I thought it, moreover, a duty which every man, capable of forming a judgment, owed to himself and to his country, to divest himself of all party attachment in public transactions: the best partisans are men of great talents, without principle; or men of no talents, with a principle of implicit attachment to particular men. *To forget all benefits*, and to conceal the *remembrance* of *all injuries*, are maxims by which political men lose their honour, but make their fortunes.

The Whig part of the coalition ministry which was formed in April, 1783, forced themselves into the King's service. His Majesty had shown the greatest reluctance to treating with them. Their enemies said, and their adherents suspected, that if poverty had not pressed hard upon some of them, they would not, for the good of their country, have overlooked the indignities which had been shown them by the court; they would have declined accepting places, when they perfectly knew that their services were unacceptable to the King.

They did, however, accept; and on the day they kissed hands I told Lord John Cavendish (who had reluctantly joined the coalition) that they had two things against them, the *Closet* and the *Country;* that the King hated them, and would take the first opportunity of turning them out; and that the coalition would make the country hate them. Lord John was aware of the op-

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position they would have from the closet, but he entertained no suspicion of the country being disgusted at the coalition. The event, however, of the general election, in which the Whig interest was almost every where unsuccessful, and Lord John himself turned out at York, proved that my foresight was well founded. It is a great happiness in our constitution, that when the aristocratic parties in the Houses of Parliament flagrantly deviate from principles of honour, in order to support their respective interests, there is integrity enough still remaining in the mass of the people, to counteract the mischief of such selfishness or ambition.

During the interval between Lord Shelburne's resignation and the appointment of the Duke of Portland to the head of the Treasury, I published my Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I sent a copy to every Bishop, and of them all the Bishop of Chester alone (Porteus) had the good manners so much as to acknowledge the receipt of it. I had foreseen this timidity of the bench, and I had foreseen also that he must be a great-minded minister indeed, who would bring forward a measure depriving him of his parliamentary influence over the spiritual lords: but I believed that what was right would take place at last, and I thought that by publishing the plan it would stand a chance of being thoroughly discussed. Men's prejudices, I was sensible, could only be lessened by degrees; and I was firmly of opinion that *no change ought ever to be made in quiet times, till the utility of the change was generally acknowledged.*

Mr. Cumberland published a pamphlet against me on this

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occasion; but he knew nothing of the subject, and misrepresented my design. He laid himself so open in every page of his performance, that, could I have condescended to answer him, I should have made him sick of writing pamphlets for the rest of his life. Some other things were published by silly people, who would needs suppose that I was in heart a republican, and meant harm to the Church establishment. Dr. Cooke, Provost of King's College, was one of those few who saw the business in its proper light; he thanked me for having strengthened the Church for at least, he said, an hundred years by my proposal.

I received many complimentary letters; the author of the following has been long dead, but it does such honour to his memory that his surviving friends cannot but be gratified with a sight of it.

" My Lord,

" I HAVE been content hitherto to observe your progress in reputation and honours with a silent satisfaction. I was pleased with your answer to Mr. Gibbon, and entertained by your Chemical Essays, which brought an abstract subject nearer to the level of such understandings as mine; and I sincerely rejoiced to hear of your advancement to the purple. Yet on these occasions I did not think myself warranted to break in upon you, either with my acknowledgments or felicitations. You owe the present trouble I give you to the recent publication of your Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I cannot resist the impulse which I feel to return you my thanks for this letter, especially for your defence of the second consequence (the independence of the

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Bishops in the House of Lords) of your plan, which, in my opinion, entitles you to the thanks of every honest man in England. It is the privilege of your situation, my Lord, to speak words that will be heard in high places, and it cannot be indifferent to the community whether they be words of truth and soberness, or of self-interest and adulation. I have my fears, indeed, — my fears not for you, my Lord, but for my country, — that you will reap no other fruit from your proposal than the applause of the public and the approbation of your own heart. A contrary doctrine prevails, and is disseminated, with some caution indeed, but with much industry, even among the lower ranks of courtly politicians, so far as to reaching my ears, — the *doctrine of the necessity of corruption to our welfare.* I remember two or three years ago to have seen a well-written Letter to Dr. Watson, under the character of a Country Curate, (it proceeded from the pensioned pen of Cumberland,) in which the writer pleasantly enough contends for some influence of the crown to counteract the effect of republican principles, pride, envy, disappointment, and revenge. Unluckily, in a postscript to this letter, the cloven foot peeps out from under the cassock, and the writer has added to his opponents two others, wisdom and virtue. Suppose, says he, for a moment, (some, perhaps, may think it a violent supposition,) the members of the House of Commons to be all honest, intelligent, and uncorrupt; that no minister could prevail upon them by place, pension, or artifice: What is the consequence? Why the constitution is overturned: that constitution which the wisdom and blood of our ancestors was exhausted in establishing; that is, which wisely established a balance to counterpoise the effects of wisdom and honesty, and

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provided an antidote against the poison of virtue. The writer may quibble, but I defy him to get fairly off from this consequence of his own words.

" A true description of the present system might, perhaps, be given in the words of an old Briton, which, though immediately applied to Roman tyranny, might in a secondary sense be considered as prophetic of a modern British House of Commons: — *Natu servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur Britannia servitatem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. Galgacus in Tacit.* But I have rambled too far, and must only add, that I am, with great truth and regard,

" Your Lordship's much obliged

" and most obedient servant,

Ipswich, April 9th, 1783. " S. DARBY."

Mr. Darby was a most respectable character, highly esteemed by all who knew him for his integrity and ability, and had formerly been an eminent tutor in Jesus College, Cambridge. I sent him immediately the following answer:

" Dear Sir,

" I RETURN you a thousand thanks for your kind letter. The approbation of one good and liberal-minded man, is dearer to me than the highest honours of the church; the puff of lawn was never any object of my ambition; but I ever have been ambitious of being thought well of by men of virtue and understanding, and you must allow me to say that in that light I am proud of your letter. I have great hopes that my plan will be effectuated, but I mean not to bring it forward till men's minds, the minds especially of the

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church dignitaries, are recovered from their idle apprehensions of danger from innovation.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

On the 30th of May, 1783, I made the following (my first) speech in parliament. The case was between the Bishop of London and Disney Fytche, Esq., on a writ of error from His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, brought by the bishop as plaintiff, who had refused to institute a clerk presented by the said Fytche, on account of the clerk having given a general bond of resignation. My speaking was unexpected by the bench, as I had not signified my intention either to the Bishop of London, or any other person : —

" My Lords,

" THOUGH I am extremely sensible, how much it would become me to endeavour to bespeak your indulgence for the liberty which I am now taking, of delivering my sentiments on a subject that has already received so able and so ample a discussion from the learned judges, yet I hold Your Lordships' time to be much too precious to be consumed in listening to any preface or apology which I could make. I am the more imboldened to deliver my opinion on this subject, from observing that the learned judges are not unanimous in theirs. Had they been perfectly united in sentiment, I should have had much greater scruple and hesitation in speaking than I now feel; yet, even in that case, I could not have suffered myself to remain altogether silent on such an occasion as this, when a question of great importance, both

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with respect to the interest of the Established Church, and the general interest of the Christian religion, is to receive the solemn and final adjudication of this house.

"The importance of this question, with respect to the Established Church, is evident enough from the effect which its decision may eventually have on its revenues: they may be very materially injured thereby. There is not, I am persuaded, one of Your Lordships who has duly weighed the civil and religious utility of an Established Church, and made himself sufficiently acquainted with the extent of the revenue appropriated to the support of our own, that can ever entertain a wish to see that revenue lessened.

"The proportion indeed, My Lords, in which the revenue of the church is distributed amongst the clergy, might, in my humble opinion, admit great improvement both in a religious and political light; but of whatever sentiments you may be on that head, I am certain that you will concur with me in thinking that the whole revenue when taken in the gross is not more than sufficient, if *sufficient*, for the maintenance of the establishment; it cannot without danger to the community admit of any diminution. But the legality of general bonds of resignation, if Your Lordships should adjudge them to be legal, will have a direct tendency to diminish the church revenue in a great degree. For no sooner shall the legality be generally known than pettifoggers of the law, money-scriveners, land-surveyors, and all the simoniacal jobbers in ecclesiastical property, will conspire with needy patrons, and with more needy clerks, to invent and execute a thousand collusive plans to rob the church of a portion of that patrimony, which the pious wisdom of our ancestors annexed to it, and which your

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piety and your wisdom, I trust, will never suffer to be dissevered from it.

"But the importance of this question may be considered in another and more momentous point of view, as it respects the purity of our religion. It is not for the security of the church revenue that we are in any degree solicitous, except so far as that security tends to render the clergy more fitted to discharge with fidelity the high duties of their sacred function.

"General bonds of resignation put the clergy who submit to them, into a state of dependence, awe, and apprehension, inconsistent with their stations as preachers of the Gospel. The pope in former times was a great encourager of resignations among the clergy of this country, because he obtained a year's income of the benefice upon every voidance; but neither were the Catholic clergy of this country at that time, nor are they I believe in any country at this time, fettered by general bonds of resignation. In the Church of Scotland, (I speak under the correction of many noble Lords in this House, who certainly know the matter much better than I do,) but, I believe that I am right in saying, that this unholy traffick in holy things has not yet polluted the minds of either patrons or ministers in the church of Scotland; nor is it practised in any Protestant church in Christendom, at least not in the same degree in which it is practised in our own.

"This traffick, My Lords, is a sore scandal to us; we are much grieved at it; and we hope from the high sense of religion and honour which this House has ever entertained, that it will be no longer endured. Even in the primitive ages of the Christian church, when it was not only unprotected by the civil power but persecuted by it; when kings, instead of being its nursing

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fathers, were its bitterest enemies, even then, when the clergy were maintained out of the elemosynary collections which were made by every congregation of Christians every Lord's day, a minister of the Gospel was not in so precarious, dependent, and every way improper situation as the legality of general bonds of resignation will place him in; because his support did not then depend upon the caprice of some one flagitious individual, who might be offended by the evangelical freedom of his preaching, but on the good sense of hundreds of well-disposed Christians, who felt themselves edified thereby.

"This, My Lords, is a very serious consideration. I do not wish, nor, I will take the liberty to say, is there a bishop on the bench who wishes to see the clergy rendered insolent by an accumulation of wealth and power; but we must all wish; for in this matter I am sure that I speak the sense of all my brethren; we must all of us ever wish to see them rendered so independent of all men, that they need not be afraid to tell any man of his sins; that they may reprove, rebuke, exhort, and preach the word of God with sincerity and truth, without shrinking from this part of their duty from an apprehension of being turned out of their benefices.

"The alienation of the church revenue, and the introduction of an accommodating, timid, temporising priesthood, are too great inconveniences, to call them by no harsher appellation, which will attend the legality of general bonds of resignation.

"Here I shall probably be told, that I am guilty of a great solecism, in adducing the inconvenience attending general bonds of resignation as a proof of their illegality. — I am not, My Lords, so wholly ignorant of the first principles of reasoning as to make such a conclusion; I do not say that the inconvenience

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I have stated is a proof of the illegality of such bonds, but I do humbly think that when the illegality is wholly questionable (as it confessedly is in the present case) the inconvenience may have, and will have, some weight in determining Your Lordships' judgment on the subject. Nay I go further, and think that though the inconvenience be not a direct proof of the illegality of these bonds, it is a presumption of it;—for this presumption appears to me to be well founded, that, whatever is repugnant to the common interest, cannot be conformable to the common law of the land. But that general bonds of resignation are repugnant to the common interest of the kingdom is what some of the judges have strongly intimated in delivering their opinions, and what few of Your Lordships I believe, were the matter *res integra*, would scruple to affirm.

" I have heard but four reasons mentioned in proof of the utility of even specific bonds of resignation. One respects the binding the incumbent to a longer residence on his cure than the law requires; the second relates to the restraining him from the enjoyment of pluralities in cases allowed by the law. The third and fourth have reference to the convenience of private families in preventing a cession of livings by the acceptance of a bishopric, and in providing for sons or other connections when they came of age to hold livings.

" The first two reasons appear to be well founded in law; for it is lawful for a man to give a bond restrictive of his natural or civil liberty, provided that restriction be for a good purpose, for a purpose of public utility. But the legal validity of the other two reasons is not so obvious to my apprehension, for the purpose of the bond in either of the cases is not good; it is good for a

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particular family, but it is not good for the community at large; and it is better that a particular family should sustain a little injury than that the community should suffer a great inconvenience. My Lords, I must correct this expression; I am incorrect, I think, in saying that private families would sustain an injury in having even special bonds of resignation adjudged to be illegal. There might according to our present notions of these things be some hardship, but there would be no injustice in the case; for it ought to be remembered that the *jus patronatus* is a spiritual trust, and should not be considered as a source of temporal benefit. When it was first granted to lords of manors and other laymen who at their own expense built churches, there can be no doubt that they presented their clerks to the bishops not conditionally but absolutely, not for a term of years, or to resign at the request of the patron, but for life.

"But with respect to general bonds of resignation, the case now before the House, the matter, it is argued, is not now a *res integra*; since there have been in the course of two hundred years many adjudged cases, and we must, it is contended, of necessity adhere to the precedents.

"My Lords, the *stare decisis*, the *stare super antiquas vias*, are maxims of law sanctioned by such length of usage, and such an accumulation of authority, and so pressed upon our consideration at this time, that I dare not produce any of the arguments in opposition to them, which now suggest themselves to my mind, though some of them would go to question the utility, and some of them the justice of such maxims; they are maxims which my hitherto course of studies have not brought me much acquainted with. We do not admit them in philosophy, we do not

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admit them in theology, for we do not allow that there are any infallible interpreters of the Bible, which is our statute-book: on the contrary, we maintain that fathers, churches, and councils have erred in their interpretation of this book, in their decisions concerning particular points of faith. This we must as Protestants ever maintain, or we cannot justify our having emancipated ourselves from the bondage of the church of Rome.

"But, be it so — let these maxims as applied to the law be admitted in their full extent, what follows? Nothing, My Lords, in this case; for the plaintiff asserts, and one of the judges has this day been pointed in proving, that the present case is not similar to any of the cases which have been adjudged in the courts below. Now a slight variation of circumstance vitiates the validity of a precedent, and it vitiates it upon good ground. The ground is this — that we cannot tell whether this variation of circumstance, had it been contemplated by the judge or the court which first established the precedent, would not have so operated as to have produced a different judgment. We are all sensible, when the mind is suspended as it were *in equilibrio* by an equal prevalence of opposite reasons, what a little matter will cause it to preponderate; and this little matter, by which any case differs from an adjudged case, lessens, if it does not overthrow the weight of a precedent.

"But let us suppose, though we do not grant it, that the cause of the plaintiff is similar in all its circumstances to some one or more of the cases, which have been adjudged in the courts below, still it will not follow, that we are to be bound by these courts; if we are, the right of appeal is a nugatory business. Precedents may be obligatory in the courts in which they are established;

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and they may there be useful in expediting processes, and in relieving the shoulders of the subject from that great but unavoidable burthen, the uncertainty of the law; but their operation should not be extended beyond the walls of those courts, it ought not at least to be extended to this House.

"If there were any precedents of Your Lordships having ever given judgment on the legality or illegality of general bonds of resignation, they would have great and proper weight in the case before us; but there are no such precedents. Whatever may be thought as to the novelty of the case in the courts below, it is undoubtedly new here, free and unshackled by precedent. Your Lordships' decision this day will establish a precedent which your posterity will revere and follow; I am persuaded, therefore, that you will give judgment on the legal merits of the question, as if it had never been agitated and decided in the courts below.

"And here, My Lords, I am conscious of my inability, and acknowledge it with humility; I am not equal to the full legal investigation of the merits of this question. But as it is sometimes of use to know how the perusal of a statute strikes a plain unprofessional man, I will briefly state how the statute in question, I mean that passed in the twelfth of Queen Anne, and that in the thirty-first of Elizabeth, to prevent corrupt presentations to benefices, have struck me.

"I am sensible that the words *general* bonds of resignation are not to be found in either of these statutes; and if every thing that is not *totidem verbis* prohibited in an act of parliament, is to be considered as allowed in that act, then unquestionably general bonds of resignation must be legal; but let us consider the subject more generally.

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"During the short time, My Lords, that I have had the honour of a seat in this House, I have heard many diffuse and elegant orations on different sides of the same question, which have so bewildered my understanding, and perplexed my judgment, that I have not been able to come to any conclusion, till I divested the whole debate of all its ornament, and examined the matter by the dry rules of scholastic reasoning. Will Your Lordships allow me, instead of dilating on these statutes, to sum up what I would observe upon them in this dry way?

"A *syllogism*, I grant, is not a figure of rhetoric much used in this House, nor much calculated to conciliate your Lordships' attention; but it is a species of reasoning, which serves to compress much matter into a little compass, and helps to investigate truth with certainty.

"The syllogism which I would propound to the serious consideration of the House is this:—That practice cannot be conformable to the spirit and meaning of an act of parliament, which entirely frustrates the very end and purpose for the attainment of which the act was originally made.

"But general bonds of resignation entirely frustrate the very end and purpose for the attainment of which both the acts in question were originally made. Therefore, general bonds of resignation cannot be conformable to the spirit and meaning of these statutes.

"How the practice of general bonds of resignation entirely frustrates the ends of these acts, will appear by a single instance. Suppose a living to be now vacant; the value of the next presentation to be 5000*l.*; the patron, by the thirty-first of Elizabeth, cannot sell this living; the clerk, by the twelfth of Queen Anne,

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cannot buy it; but by the magic of a general bond of resignation, both the patron and the clerk are freed from restraint. The clerk, in consequence of his bond, gets possession of the living which he could not purchase; and the patron, by suing the bond, gets possession of his money. Thus, in fact, the vacant benefice is virtually sold by the patron, and purchased by the clerk, and the legal end and purpose of both statutes is legally, if general bonds be legal, eluded and defeated. This is the manner in which the matter strikes me; yet I have some doubt, whether I am not out of my depth; sometimes I think that I touch the ground, at other times I seem to myself to be afloat. The reason of my uncertainty is simply this:—I do not know in what degree we are in this House to be guided by the letter, and in what by the meaning and spirit of an act of parliament.

"I am not sufficiently acquainted with the doctrine concerning the legal latitude of the interpretation of statutes: leaving that point to be discussed by more able judges, I will proceed to trouble Your Lordships with an observation or two on the oath against simony, and on the form of resignation of benefices. I mean not, in what I shall say on these heads, to cast the slightest imputation on the character of the clerk in question. I know nothing of him, further than this transaction teaches; and I can conceive, that it was very possible for him to have thought, and I question not that he did think, that he was not engaged in an improper transaction.

"In the first place, My Lords, every clerk, before institution, swears that he has not made any simoniacal contract for or concerning the procuring his benefice. The force of this oath depends on the construction of the two terms, simoniacal contract,

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The term simony is a very complex term: it extends to more cases than have been enumerated in any law book; but thus much, I think, will be allowed on all hands, to be included in the idea of simony: Every pecuniary contract entered into by a clerk, by means of which he procures presentation to a vacant benefice, and without which he would not have procured presentation to it at all, is a simoniacal contract. A general bond of resignation is a pecuniary contract, by means of which the clerk procures presentation to a vacant benefice; and without which, he would not have procured presentation to it at all. Therefore, a general bond of resignation is a simoniacal contract. I protest I have not acuteness enough to see the fallacy of this conclusion.

"Here it may be remarked, with great apparent subtilty, that a bond to resign a benefice, is not a bond to procure a benefice; and the idea may afford matter of ridicule to those who are disposed to perplex the argument. But ridicule is not the test of truth; it is a mere cobweb spread to entangle weak understandings; and I now do maintain, that though a bond to procure a benefice, and a bond to resign a benefice, be not in words the same, they are the same in purpose and effect. The cause of any effect is that, which being taken away, the effect itself would not take place. But the general bond of resignation is the *causa sine quâ non*, the very efficient cause of the presentation; for take away the bond, and there will be no presentation; therefore, the bond is a contract for procuring the benefice; it is the essential mean of procuring it, for the benefice could not have been procured without it.

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"In the second place, I would beg for a moment Your Lordships' attention to the form of resignation of a benefice. In the old Latin form, (and the modern English is, or ought to be, a translation of it,) the clerk who tenders his resignation to the bishop, uses these words: — *Non vel metu coactus, vel sinistra aliqua machinatione motus, sed ex spontanea voluntate purè ac simpliciter resigno et renuntio.* Now, if there is any meaning in language, a clerk who has given a general bond of resignation cannot use this form. How is it possible that he can say, he is not *metu coactus*, when he is compelled by the terms of his bond; that he is not *sinistra aliqua machinatione motus*, when he is impelled to the resignation by all the cogent machinery of the law; that he does it *ex spontanea voluntate purè ac simpliciter*. My Lords, there is no purity, no simplicity, no spontaneity in the case; or, if any, it is that kind of spontaneity which a man feels when he delivers his purse to a robber. No, the resignation does not proceed from the spontaneous, intrinsic movement of his mind, but from the compulsory extrinsic energy of his bond.

"I have detained Your Lordships too long. I have risen thus early in the debate, not from any expectation of my opinion having weight with any person but myself, but from a wish to form a right judgment; for I hope that some noble Lord will condescend to inform me of the mistakes I may have committed in my reasoning, for on so novel a subject, it is but too probable that I have committed many."

On my sitting down, Lord Sandwich said to me, you will carry your point. The judgment was reversed. *Pro:* Canterbury, York, Winchester, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Salisbury,

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Peterborough, Rochester, Worcester, Bangor, Lincoln, Gloucester, Llandaff, Sandwich, Radnor, Hillsborough, Thurlow, Bayot, Howe,—in all nineteen. *Con.:* Portland, Fitzwilliam, Mansfield, Loughborough, Stormont, Bathurst, King, Sandys, Abercorn, Sydney, Brownlow, Buckinghamshire, Ferrers, Walsingham, Richmond, Chedworth, Rawden, Derby,—in all eighteen. Present in the House, but did not vote, Clarendon, Oxford, Willoughby, Harrowby.

If the legislature should ever think fit to pass an act of parliament making *special* bonds of resignation legal, which might perhaps be done with propriety, the oath of simony and the form of resignation must be altered.

I purposely alluded in this speech to what I had written respecting a better distribution of the Church revenue, to show the House that I persevered in my opinion, notwithstanding what had been published against it; and in the ensuing November, I sent a note to Lord John Cavendish, to the following purport:—

"I SHALL come to town at the meeting of parliament, and will take my chance some morning of obtaining an audience of ten minutes from Your Lordship, on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Reform. I am convinced of its utility, but I know how to rest contented with having fairly stated my sentiments, if the matter cannot be brought forward to advantage."

I called at Lord John's house several times, but never got admittance, nor did I ever receive a message from him, signifying his

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wish to see me on the subject; he was probably of Lord Shelburne's mind, that the time was not *then*, for he was *then*, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Notwithstanding this, I always entertained a great respect for the honour and integrity of Lord John, and indeed for every branch of his illustrious house.

On the 4th of November (1783) I received a letter from the minister (Duke of Portland), desiring me to come up to town and to support Mr. Fox's East India Bill, which vested the patronage, &c. of that country in seven directors, to be nominated by the House of Commons. Though this measure was brought forward by a party which considered me as attached to them, and though I was a sincere enemy to the increasing influence of the Crown, yet, thinking that it was a great violation of the constitution to transfer influence from the Crown to the friends of a minister in the House of Commons, I immediately sent the following answer; an answer, I knew, but ill calculated to promote my interest with the then administration: —

" My Lord Duke, Cambridge, Nov. 4. 1783.

" It is impossible for me who have, on all occasions, opposed the corrupting influence of the Crown, to support the measure which is pregnant with more seeds of corruption than any one which has taken place since the revolution. This at least is the light in which it appears to me; I may have formed an erroneous judgment, but I cannot act in opposition to it. I had intended to have come to town and spoken against the bill, but I will not do that; I will for once so far distrust the solidity of my own reasoning on the subject as not to oppose a measure which has

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the approbation of Your Grace, and of that part of the administration of whose regard for the public good I can entertain no doubt.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Fox had such enlarged views of constitutional politics, that at the time I sent this answer to the Duke of Portland, I hesitated on its propriety. But the preservation of the King's prerogative from the encroachment of the House of Commons, even under a Whig minister, determined me.

On the 14th of the same month I received an express from the Duke of Rutland, stating to me the King's opposition to the India Bill, the great probability of a change of administration, and many other motives for my going to town; and ending with an earnest entreaty to see me next day in the House of Lords. I instantly returned the following answer: —

" My dear Lord Duke,

" THE inclosed will show you that you have not been mistaken in your opinion of my principles; it is an answer to a pressing letter from the Duke of Portland; I send it to you in confidence; you will perceive from it that my word is gone to take no part in this business. I am sick of party. You are a young man and zeal may become you, but I have lost my political zeal for ever; the *coalition has destroyed it.* If a new administration is formed, it will be but a new coalition. Your political character is yet, in my opinion, unsullied; you are said, indeed, to be a deserter, but

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let it be remembered that the Whigs first deserted their own honour when they joined Lord North.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Fox's bill was thrown out by the Lords, and Mr. Pitt was soon after made First Lord of the Treasury. The King's interference in throwing out the bill could not be excused on constitutional principles, except by the attack which the Commons had made on the prerogative by passing the bill. If you will not admit the true principle of the constitution, which is the exercise of the King's negative, you in a manner compel him to the use of his influence over parliament, when he conceives either his prerogative to be attacked, or the safety of the country endangered, or even his caprices restrained by their proceedings. This mode of governing by influence, is a dangerous and disgraceful mode; disgraceful to those over whom it is exerted, and dangerous to the common weal; inasmuch as it takes away all responsibility. When a minister can sanction every obnoxious measure by a vote of the House of Commons, he screens himself from all future censure, by making those who ought to be his accusers partakers of his misdemeanors.

Soon after this I went to London, and on calling on the Duke of Rutland I thought there was an unusual distance in his manner, not great enough to found a direct quarrel on, and yet too great for me to submit to, without assuming an equal distance on my part; this soon brought him to a little better temper. Lord Shelburne told me at the time, that he was afraid somebody had

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been endeavouring to make mischief between the Duke of Rutland and myself, on account of my not coming to oppose the India Bill. He did not tell me who the person was who had done me this injury, nor did my suspicion, till several years afterwards, fall on Mr. Pitt; nor do I know whether it has fallen rightly at last. I hope it has not; for though I must ever consider it as a bad trait in Mr. Pitt's character that I never experienced from him the slightest return of *gratitude* for the services which I had rendered him, when he stood most in need of them at Cambridge; yet I am unwilling to think of him as having possessed a little and revengeful mind, stooping to injure those who would not become the blind instruments of his ambition. I gave Lord Shelburne to understand, that the Duke of Rutland might digest his displeasure as he could, for I would never utter a syllable in explanation or in excuse for my conduct on the occasion; that His Grace had experienced from me many and important instances of my regard, and that I was ready to give him more with respect to his private concerns; but as to my public conduct, I would ever assert to myself the right of private judgment, independent of all parties. This doctrine I could perceive was quite new to Lord Shelburne, and, in truth, few great men can relish it; they want adherents, and they esteem no man who will not be their instrument. This plain dealing with men in power made many persons say that I knew not the world; they were mistaken; I knew it, but I despised it; I knew well enough that it was not the way to procure preferment; I remembered what I had learnt as a boy, the different effects of *obsequiousness* and of *truth*;

" Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit;"

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and I preferred, as a man, the latter. My friend the Bishop of Peterborough once said to me, "You are the most straight-forward man I ever met with." I was not displeased at his remark, for the rule of rectitude is but one, whilst the deviations from it may be infinite.

The parliament was dissolved on the 25th of March, 1784. Mr. Pitt had, for several weeks previous to its dissolution, continued in office in direct opposition to the majority of the House of Commons. I looked upon this proceeding as establishing a dangerous precedent; for though the House could not be justified in censuring a minister who had done no act that was censurable, yet it is to be dreaded that the precedent thus set, of continuing a minister in his place in opposition to a majority of the House of Commons, may hereafter be resorted to by the crown on occasions less justifiable. The numberless addresses, however, which were presented to the King against the coalition ministry, sufficiently showed the sense of the nation to be with Mr. Pitt.

Now I consider the clear and decided voice of the people to be superior, not only to the House of Commons, but to the whole legislature; I hope, therefore, that no mischief will come to the constitution from this example. It was not so much the prerogative of the crown which kept Mr. Pitt in his place, and set the House of Commons at defiance, as it was the sense of the nation, which, on this occasion, was in direct contradiction to the sense of the House of Commons. I was at that time very well acquainted with Mr. Pitt, and took the liberty to make known to him my sentiments in the following letter: —

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"Dear Sir, Cambridge, 12th May, 1784.

"WILL you allow me to say, that I think you cannot continue minister with that high sense of honour which I wish you to do, whilst the resolutions of the last House of Commons respecting you stand unblotted from the Journals. You have now an opportunity of healing the wound which many think you inflicted on the constitution by remaining in power in opposition to the sense of the Commons, if you profess your readiness to retire, provided the new House of Representatives, which (from its being so recently elected) must be supposed to speak the voice of the people, should be of the same opinion relative to you that the last was. For it is a part of my political creed, that the voice of the people, whenever it can be clearly known, and I think it is clearly known to be with you, *is* and *ought* to be supreme in the state. I beg your pardon for the freedom with which I deliver my sentiments; you are indebted to the regard I have for your disinterestedness and integrity, and to the hope I have that you may do real service to the country, that I trouble you with any opinion at all.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had mentioned to Mr. Pitt, a little time before, when he called upon me at Cambridge, on account of the election, this rescinding of the resolutions of the House of Commons, as the first business which ought to be brought forward in the new parliament; and he seemed at that time wholly to agree with me in the propriety of the measure; but he changed his mind, or was over-ruled by men more inclined to exalt the prerogative of

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the Crown, than to listen to the voice of the people, for nothing of the kind was ever mentioned in the House of Commons.

In a letter which I wrote to Mr. Pitt, in July, 1784, amongst other political considerations was the following observation:—"I tremble for Ireland; it will be lost to this country, unless you give way to the popular disposition; it was what is called *firmness* which despoiled us of America: *it would immortalise your name, and the name of our friend, the Duke of Rutland, if you could accomplish on an equal and liberal footing, an union of the two kingdoms.* Then would Britain and Ireland have but one interest; and it is rank absurdity in politics to expect any cordiality between them, whilst their interests are separate." Sixteen years after this, Mr. Pitt accomplished the union here recommended to his attention; but it was not attempted till a rebellion in Ireland, supported by a French invasion, had well nigh realised the fears I had entertained, of its being lost to this country: *nor was it at last accomplished in the liberal way it ought to have been done.*

Much about the same time I wrote to the Duke of Rutland, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; the following extract from the letter I then sent him will show how strongly the necessity of an union had ocupied my mind, and how much I wished to see it effected:—"Ireland, and every other distant part of our empire, has for many years been impoliticly considered, and oppressively treated, merely as a source of wealth to this country. My very heart is grieved at the idea of one nation being oppressed that another may be rendered rich and luxurious. The government ought to pay an equal attention to the interests of all its com-

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ponent parts, and whether the lands and manufactures of Great Britain or Ireland are likely to be in the most flourishing condition, should never be a question, but how we may render them in both countries as flourishing as possible. I told Mr. Pitt, some time ago, that both your name and his would be immortalised, if an union between the two kingdoms on an equal and liberal footing could be established. Scotland has felt the advantages of an union; Ireland would feel the same in her turn, and instead of grinding the faces of the poor Asiatics, to make them pay the debts of Great Britain, we should become the most powerful nation in Europe, by relying on nothing but the FREE COMMERCE and the full cultivation of the lands of the two islands."

Had the measure, recommended in my above letter to the Duke of Rutland, been at that time adopted, the state of the continent of Europe would either not have been what it now is, or we should have been better able to resist the storm which threatens us, than we now are. In twenty-two years Great Britain and Ireland would have become solidly united, and been so mutually strengthened by their cordial coalescence, that France, and all her tributary kings, might have excited our surprise, but not our apprehension.

The following is an extract of another letter to the Duke, in November, 1784, in answer to one of his, respecting the state of Ireland: — "I have nothing to object to any part of your reasoning respecting Ireland; it is all judicious and convincing; and I particularly agree with you, with relation to the Catholics. No man upon earth, I trust, can have more enlarged sentiments of toleration than I have, but the Church of Rome is a *persecuting*

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church, and it is our interest and our duty, on every principle of religion and common sense, to guard ourselves against her machinations. There is far less danger to be apprehended by Protestants, in the present enlightened state of Europe, from the effects of Popery in those countries where it is the established religion, than in those where it is simply tolerated. The cabinets of Paris and Madrid would execrate the enormities which an infatuated populace in Ireland would perpetuate on the score of religion without remorse. Every indulgence, and even a participation of all civil rights might be granted with safety to the Catholics in England, because they are so far from being the majority, that they do not constitute one-seventieth part of the inhabitants. But in Ireland, the proportion between Catholics and Protestants being widely different, the whole conduct of government should be different also. It is for want of seeing distinctions of this kind that the patriots, some of whom are certainly well-meaning men, give you so much trouble. With respect to the commerce of Ireland, it ought to be as much encouraged as our own; and Ireland, in return, ought to contribute her full quota towards the maintenance of the fleets and armies, and the expenses of the civil list, by which government is supported, and the freedom and trade of both countries is protected. This is the only liberal maxim of government, by which a cordiality between the two kingdoms, can be secured on a permanent foundation." Though the union, and other circumstances, have somewhat changed the situation and the disposition of the bulk of the Irish Catholics, yet, till they are more emancipated from the power of their priests, or till the priests themselves have more enlarged notions of Christian charity, government must not be inattentive to them.

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Mr. Wakefield published, in 1784, an octavo volume, entitled, An Enquiry into the Opinions of the Christian Writers of the three first Centuries, concerning the Person of Christ, and thought fit to inscribe, in a very handsome manner, the publication to me. On the 25th of July, 1784, I sent him the subjoined reply: —

"Sir,

"A VARIETY of business has prevented me for some time from reading your book, or I would sooner have thanked you for the honour you have done me, by inscribing your Enquiry to me. I admire and approve the spirit and erudition with which it is written; and though I think the pre-existence of Christ to be the doctrine of the New Testament, yet I am far from wishing the contrary opinion to be stifled, or the supporters of it to be branded as enemies to the Christian system.

"Whoever is afraid of submitting any question, civil or religious, to the test of free discussion, seems to me to be more in love with his own opinion, than with truth. I shall be glad to see you either in Cambridge or in London, that I may become personally known to you. That the Spirit of God may guide you in all your researches, is the sincere prayer of

"Your much obliged servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

In December, 1784, I received a letter from Mr. Wyvil, (to whom I was not personally known,) informing me that Mr. Pitt had promised him to exert his whole power as a man and a minister, to bring about a reform in the representation of the people, and requesting me to use my influence in Cambridgeshire

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for the same end. I sent him by the return of post the following reply: —

" Sir,

" I THINK myself indebted to you for the honour of your letter yesterday, and take the earliest opportunity of expressing to you without reserve, my sentiments on the subject of it. Mr. Pitt's agreeing to support the measure of a parliamentary reform as a man pleases me very well, and I believe him to be honourable and sincere in the declaration which he has made. But I am not pleased with his design of supporting it as a minister, for I am so great an enemy to influence over parliament, that I detest its exertion even in a cause which I approve; and in a cause of this consequence, if its success be not derived from the full conviction of those who are to decide on its merits, I think it ought not to be carried at all.

" The general question of parliamentary reform has my warmest wishes for a favourable issue to its discussion; *but I am not sanguine in my hopes of seeing much good resulting to the constitution from any mode of representation which I have yet heard of: nor am I able, though I have often speculated upon the subject, to devise any plan which I myself durst venture to propose, as likely to answer the end in view.*

" Nothing is wanting but a parliament in which every individual would decide in the House of Commons, on the concerns of the nation, with the same impartiality that a juror decides in a court of justice on the concerns of his fellow-citizens. But this impartiality can never be expected to take place, whilst there are such powerful weights as avarice and ambition to draw men's judge-

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ments to one side. The mode of corruption may be changed, but corruption itself will remain, as long as there is so much public wealth to be distributed, and so many public honours to be disposed of, among the members of the House of Commons and their connections.

"The manner of electing the members of the House of Commons, and the time for which they are to be elected, are subjects on which men's minds are much divided; I consider them as matters of importance, only so far as they contribute to the introduction of honest and independent members into the House, and to the keeping them so whilst they sit there. And hence I am not one of those who stickle for the abstract right of every individual having a vote in the election, nor for the ancient practice of having a new parliament elected every year, provided the integrity of parliament could be obtained by other means. I freely own to you, that I fear this end will never be obtained to any salutary extent by any means. Other means however of doing all that is possible, may perhaps be thought of, less obnoxious to cavil and misconstruction, than either the extension of the right of voting to every individual, or the restriction of the duration of parliament to a single year.

"With respect to any influence, which I may be supposed to have, either in the university or county, it is too small to be mentioned, even if my situation would allow me to exert it with propriety, in the manner I did on a former occasion, when the calamity of the American war gave it an energy which it could not have now. I shall not, however, be backward in embracing any opportunity of signifying my intention to concur with those who,

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in a legal and peaceable way, shall on this or any other future occasion attempt to procure a reform of parliament.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Since the writing of this letter, some unsuccessful attempts have been made in the House of Commons for procuring a better representation of the people, and there are many wise men who ardently wish for it, being fully aware, that without some effectual stop being put to the increasing influence of the executive over the legislative part of the constitution, the liberty of Britain must expire as that of Rome did; the forms of the constitution will remain, its substance will exist no more. And what hope can we have that a public body will reform itself? Since the miserable event of the French revolution, it may be said to every man in England and in Europe, who attempts to reform abuses either in Church or State — *Desine, jam conclamatum est.*

In March, 1785, I published a collection of Theological Tracts, in six volumes, closely printed on a large paper, principally intended for the benefit of young men who had not money to purchase books in divinity. This book was very well received by the world, near a thousand copies having been sold in less than three months; and very ill received by the bishops, on account of my having printed some tracts originally written by Dissenters. Till I was told of it, I did not conceive that such bigotry could have been then found on the bench, and I trust it can be found there no longer. The Archbishop of Canterbury, to

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whom I sent a set, had never the good manners to acknowledge the receipt of the present, and the Archbishop of York objected to the collection being given by the associates of Dean Bray to a young divine who was going out as chaplain to a nobleman in Canada. I was not at all mortified by this conduct of the two Archbishops, for I had but a poor opinion of the theological knowledge of either of Their Graces. I lived on good terms with them both; for I did not consider diversity of opinion, as any ground for disrespect towards men in their stations, which they filled not eminently but inculpably.

But though this collection seems not to have been in the taste of the Archbishops, yet it went speedily through two large editions, and was held in such estimation, that Doctor Kippis, in his Life of Lardner (p. 44.) says, "For the noble, manly, and truly evangelical preface by which it is preceded, its author is entitled to the gratitude of the Christian world." It is with peculiar pleasure that I mention the following anecdote: — Mr. Lambe was an eminent attorney in Cambridge, and in the latter part of his life, when I knew him, of a serious turn. His successor in March, 1801, sent me the following account: — "Perhaps Your Lordship may not have heard that the late Mr. Lambe bequeathed a great part of his property to a grandson of the author of "A Scheme of Scripture Divinity," which Your Lordship thought worthy of the first place in your collection of theological tracts."

The impartiality which I had used in putting into the catalogue of books in divinity, printed at the end of the collection of

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tracts, the works of dissenters as well as of churchmen, procured me the following letter from Dr. Harwood, to whom I was not personally known:

"My Lord,

"YESTERDAY I happened to take up in a gentleman's house Your Lordship's collection of Theological Tracts. Your selection does Your Lordship's candour and judgment great honour. I, who am an old man trembling on the brink of the grave with the palsy, could not but rejoice in my melancholy condition with Your Lordship's recommendation of my introduction to the study and knowledge of the New Testament, which I hope will be useful to young students in sacred literature when I am no more.

"It pours the greatest distinction on the moderation of the University of Cambridge, that this illustrious seminary hath deigned to recommend the reading of a book written by a poor dissenter, which had nothing for its object but displaying the truth and excellency of our common religion. But I was astonished to see in that useful catalogue of books which Your Lordship hath annexed to the last volume, *my five dissertations*, which completed my downfal among the bigots at Bristol. The second dissertation indeed of the *Socinian scheme* has some merit, which I republished, after it had pleased God in some measure to recover me from a dreadful stroke of the palsy, with which he was pleased to afflict me. Formerly Your Lordship's answer to Gibbon, and one of your sermons, gave me the highest idea of your abilities and judgment, and this collection of useful tracts hath confirmed it. The inferior clergy will peculiarly have great reason to bless Your Lordship, for whose use and improvement

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this publication is extremely well calculated. Permit me, My Lord, to thank you for the honourable and friendly mention you have made of my books.

" Your Lordship is correct in attributing " Plain Reasons for being a Christian" originally to my late father-in-law. It was written in conjunction with Dr. Hunt, who among the dissenters, on account of his skill in Hebrew, went by the name of Rabbi Hunt.

" I am, &c.

" Edward Harwood.

" Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, March 27. 1785."

Doctor Harwood was a learned and a respectable man ; he died in 1794, and about a year before his death he published a letter in a valuable miscellany (Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1793, p. 994.) which he concludes in the following very remarkable manner : — " After expending a great deal of time in discussing, I am neither an Athanasian, Arian, or a Socinian, but die fully confirmed in the great doctrine of the New Testament, a resurrection, and a future state of eternal blessedness to all sincere penitents and good Christians."

The most undecided men on doubtful points are those often who have bestowed most time in the investigation of them, whether the points respect divinity, jurisprudence, or policy. He who examines only one side of a question, and gives his judgment, gives it improperly, though he may be on the right side. But he who examines both sides, and after examination gives his assent to neither, may surely be pardoned this suspen-

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sion of judgment, for it is safer to continue in doubt than to decide amiss. To such men may well be applied what that most learned man Peter Daniel Huett says of himself, in his Philosophical Treatise concerning the Weakness of Human Understanding: — "If any man ask me what I am, since I will be "neither academic, nor sceptic, nor eclectic, nor of any other "sect; I answer that I am of my own opinion, that is to say "*free*, neither submitting my mind to any authority, nor approv- "ing of any thing but what seems to me to come nearest the "truth; and if any man should, either ironically or flatteringly, "call us Ιδιαγνωμονας; that is, men who stick only to their own "sentiments, we shall never go about to hinder it."

In the following July, I received a letter from the Duke of Rutland, in which he said, that though party in England had ably enough contrived to engender jealousies on constitutional points which were never intended to be affected, yet he was sure of carrying the commercial propositions which were then in agitation. I immediately wrote to him to the following purport: — I admire the liberal commercial system which you have adopted relative to Ireland, but unless the Irish think it beneficial to them I should be very sorry to see it carried into execution. I speak not of the sentiments of a few interested men, or of a few disinterested but well-meaning men (for opposition of sentiments must ever be expected in great and complicated transactions), but of the bulk of the Irish nation. If they are clearly, however unadvisedly, against the measure, it would be bad and oppressive policy to force them, by your influence over parliament, to submit to it. My own opinion is, that this commercial union will be

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greatly advantageous to both countries, inasmuch as it will have, in some degree, the effect of a *legislative union*, and tend to do away the impolitic principle of considering their interests as diverse and incompatible. The language of some men in Ireland is proud and unwise. They contend for an absolute independence on Great Britain; let them have it; but let them not expect that the lands of Great Britain should be mortgaged to maintain a fleet for the protection of the coasts and commerce of Ireland; let them not expect, when they shall refuse to take our goods, that the trade of Great Britain into Germany and Russia, should still continue shackled in compliment to the linen-manufactory of Ireland."

On the 12th of August, 1785, the Irish government carried the question for leave to bring in a bill conformable to the propositions which had been sent from England by a majority of nineteen, and three days afterwards they wisely abandoned the bill, declaring in the House, by Secretary Orde, that they would never again agitate the bill in the House of Commons, unless it was called for by the people and parliament of Ireland. Whilst this business was going forward in Ireland, I was at Harrowgate, making experiment on the sulphur-wells; I returned to Cambridge on the 27th of August, and the day after wrote to Mr. Pitt; the following is an extract of my letter: — "If I durst presume to hint an opinion in the present circumstances, I would say with respect to Ireland, Do nothing. It was necessary a year ago that something should be attempted, but it is not necessary now that any thing more should be attempted at present. What has been done will convince a large party in Ireland of the good

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intentions of our government towards them, and on any emergency hostile to the connection which ought to subsist between the two kingdoms, this party will show itself and increase in numbers and in strength.

"Ireland may, perhaps, proceed to advance her consequence by regulations in trade. These must be watched; and every one which has a direct tendency to injure the trade of Great Britain must be opposed; not directly by endeavouring to stem the popular current of the Parliament of Ireland, but by counter regulations of our own trade, by our own Parliament.

"Ireland has refused to become a great people in conjunction with us; let her try to rise superior to her present difficulties; I do not say without our good wishes, but without our rendering her any assistance which may interfere with our own security. It is but common sense in us, to use this precaution. If the Irish will not form a constituent part of the same empire with ourselves; (for the having the same King does not put them in that predicament,) if they will not have the same enemies, the same friends, the same commercial arrangements, and a common purse for the support of a common government, it is our business not to abandon, in any one circumstance, for their emolument, the advantages which we are in possession of—from our capital, as a trading, and from our industry and ingenuity, as a manufacturing nation.

"Let us bear the Irish no ill will; but let us take care of ourselves, till they show a disposition more favourable to a *legislative*, at least to a commercial union with us, than they have done in the haughtiness and suspicion of their present politics.

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"I wish there was justice and moderation enough among the leading powers of Europe, to let Ireland lift up her head as an absolutely independent state; but she will soon find, that she is more indebted for her liberty to the jealousies of other states, than to the vigour of her own exertions.

"Were I an Irishman of the greatest property in the country, I should think that property to be better secured, and more likely to be augmented, by a real and solid union with Great Britain, than by any other mean whatever; and the time will come, (*would to God it may come without previous confusion and calamity!*) when Ireland will be of the same opinion."

The prediction here expressed, has been verified, but not without previous calamity.

On the 11th of January, 1786, I was sent for by express, to my friend Mr. Luther, in Essex. I found him, as was thought by Sir Richard Jebb and his other physician, so much out of danger, that they both left him the next morning. In the course of a few hours after they were gone, a stoppage of urine came on; I immediately sent to town for Mr. Pott; who not being at home, his son-in-law, Mr. Earle, came down to Myles's, and on using the catheter, he found that a mortification had taken place in the neck of the bladder, and that there were no hopes: my poor friend died on the 13th, in the morning. On opening the will, I was found to be sole executor. His Essex estate was left to his younger nephew, Francis Fane, Esq., in strict entail to some other of his relations, with the remainder to me. His Sussex estate was left to me and my heirs, charged with a legacy

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of three thousand pounds. I sold this estate in the following July, to Lord Egremont, for twenty-three thousand five hundred pounds.

The expense and manner of the funeral was ordered by the will to be at my discretion; his two nephews, Lord Howard, and some of the principal gentry of the country, with his tenantry, attended the funeral, and I read the service as well as I could myself — as well as I could, for I was more than once obliged to stop: we had lived as brothers for thirty years. I had ever a strong affection for him; and his for me was fully manifested by his will, which was made many years before he died. When he was at the point of death, my heart was overpowered. I knelt down in a corner of his bedchamber, and with as much humility and as much sincerity as I ever used in prayer for myself, I interceded with the Father of Mercies for pardon of my friend's transgressions. I knew perfectly well all the philosophical arguments which could be used against the efficacy of all human intercession; and I was fully conscious of my own unworthiness and unfitness, with so many sins of my own to answer for, to intercede for others; but the most distant hope of being of use to my expiring friend overcame all my scruples. If we meet in another world, he will thank me for this instance of my love for him, when he was insensible to every earthly concern, and when I was wholly ignorant of the purport of his will.

I have managed as I ought to have done this legacy. It has enabled me to preserve my independence, and to provide for my family. I have a thousand times thought, that had I been a

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mean spirited, time-serving bishop, I might perhaps have escaped that marked and unmerited neglect of the Court, which I have for so many years experienced, but that I should certainly have forfeited the affection of my friend; his upright and honourable principles would never have suffered him to distinguish such a character with that eminent token of his regard which he bequeathed to me.

On the 1st of July, 1804, I was surprised by the receipt of the following letter from a gentleman I had no acquaintance with.

" My Lord,

" PRESUMING from Your Lordship's attachment to chemistry that the enquiry contained in the accompanying volume, may obtain a cursory examination from Your Lordship, I have presumed to present it as a tribute due to the author of those essays which first attracted my attention earnestly to chemistry.

" I am, My Lord, with sincere respect,

" Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

" J. PARKINSON."

" Hoxton Square, July 1st, 1804.

On the 28th of July, 1804, I sent the subjoined answer:

" Sir,

" I RECEIVED the day before yesterday your most acceptable present of your interesting work on the organic remains of a former world.

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"I have read with peculiar satisfaction one half of it, having never met with so large an assemblage of facts, nor such probable conjectures on such a dark subject. Accept my best thanks for this instance of your attention to me; but I must not permit you, as you proceed in your work, to make me any future present, as I shall eagerly purchase the future volumes.

"I hope, before I get to the end of your work, to meet with some animadversions on a position of Linnæus which, if established, subverts your whole system. It occurs in *Systeme Naturel*, tom. iii. p. 5. *Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi quousque penetravi.*

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

I had published a third volume of Chemical Essays in 1782, and in February, 1786, I published a fourth, and then burned a great many chemical manuscripts which I had written at sundry times whilst I was Professor of Chemistry. They consisted of many interesting dissertations, which only wanted a careful revision to have been produced with credit to the world, such as those concerning Blood, Milk, Urine, Fermentation, Wine, Ale, Vinegar, Putrefaction, Sugar, Balsams, Resins, Glass, precious Stones, Metallic substances, &c., in all of which I had united the natural and commercial history with the chemical analysis of the substances, and had introduced what the ancients knew on these subjects. I cultivated chemistry from 1764 to 1771, with laborious and unceasing assiduity, and derived more pleasure and knowledge from the pursuit of that, than of any other branch of philosophy in which I was ever engaged.

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Whilst I was Professor of Chemistry, I dissected a subject which I had procured from London, in order to perfect myself in Anatomy; my laboratory was my theatre, and Professor Waring, known to Europe by his mathematical publications, and my old friend Preston (afterwards Bishop of Ferns), were my assistants. When we had finished the business we put what remained of the body into a box, and commissioned an old soldier to bury it in the fields. The man thought the box was worth something, and instead of burying it he opened it and poured the contents into the Cam, and as there happened then to be a great flood, some of them were drifted on shore and excited a great suspicion of murder having been committed; but as no person was either taken up or suspected of it, we carefully kept our secret, and thus probably escaped being stoned, like anatomists of old, by a superstitious populace.

On the 2d of August, 1786, an insane woman, named Margaret Nicholson, attempted to stab the King as he alighted from his carriage. Upon an intimation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, addresses were presented from the several Dioceses. I drew up the following for mine.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, the Bishop, the Archdeacon, and Chapter, and the clergy of the diocese of Landaff, Your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, humbly entreat Your Majesty graciously to accept our faithful congratulations on the protection which the good providence of God has lately vouchsafed to Your Majesty, from the attack of an insane assassin.

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"The mildness of Your Majesty's government, united with the exemplary probity and condescension of your private life, have left Your Majesty no deliberate enemies, no apprehension of any danger from the malice of any of your subjects. In the late calamitous event, Your Majesty will feel a comfort which is fully felt by all your people, from knowing that the hand of violence was not aimed against Your Majesty's life by the spirit of public faction, or private discontent. The worst of kings, in every age and country, have been encouraged by adulatory addresses of flagitious men, to persevere in modes of government destructive of the freedom and felicity of mankind. Sincerity and truth have been in this way so often sacrificed on the altar of private interest, as almost to render suspicious the professions of honest men, on the fairest occasions; yet on this occasion we fear not the being accused of flattery and insincerity, when we avow in the face of the world, that we believe there is not a single person in Your Majesty's dominions, who will not join with us in thanking God for this instance of his goodness towards you, and in praying that he will long continue to us the happiness, and the liberty, civil and religious, which we enjoy under Your Majesty's government."

I saw Lord Lansdown soon after the presenting this address, and he thanked me for it, saying that it had done him credit; but that Bishop Shipley's address had done him disservice in a certain place. His Lordship looked upon himself as connected with the Bishop of St. Asaph and myself, and indeed he had a right to do so; for he had made me a bishop, and he had asked for the Archbishoprick of Canterbury for Shipley, on the death

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of Cornwallis; but I do not believe that we either of us thought of him when we drew up our respective addresses.

About this time application was made to me by government, to know whether I could give any advice relative to the improvement of the strength of gunpowder; and I suggested to them the making charcoal by distilling the wood in close vessels. The suggestion was put in execution at Hythe, in 1787, and the improvement has exceeded my utmost expectation. Major-General Congreve delivered to me a paper, containing an account of the experiments which had been made with the cylinder powder, (so called from the wood being distilled in iron cylinders,) in all of which its superiority over every other species of powder was sufficiently established. In particular, a given quantity of gunpowder, made with this kind of charcoal, threw a ball of sixty-eight pounds weight two hundred and seventy-three feet; whilst the same mortar, at an equal elevation, and charged with an equal weight of gunpowder made with charcoal prepared in the best of the ordinary ways, threw an equal ball only one hundred and seventy-two feet. In this experiment, the strength of the cylinder, estimated by the horizontal range, is to that of the best sort of other powder, as 100 to 63. By experiments with the Eprouvette, the proportion of the strength of the cylinder to other powder was that of 100 : 54. In round numbers, it may perhaps be near enough to the truth to say, that the strength of the cylinder powder is to that of other powder, as 100 : 60, or 5 : 3. One of the clerks in the laboratory at Woolwich desired a gentleman, in 1803, to inform me, (as he suspected I did not know it,) that I

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had for several years saved to the government one hundred thousand pounds a year. I have never inquired whether this information is correct; nor if it should turn out to be so, have I any intention of applying for a reward. My country is welcome to my services in every way; but if in the vicissitudes incident to all families, my posterity should be by misfortune, not occasioned by vice or indiscretion, reduced to beggary, I would advise them to petition the House of Commons for a remuneration; they may do it with a just confidence of being listened to. At a levee, soon after the experiments on gunpowder had been made, I happened to be standing next to the Duke of Richmond, then Master General of the Ordnance, and the duke informed His Majesty, that they were indebted to me for a great improvement in its fabrication. On my saying that I ought to be ashamed of myself, inasmuch as it was a scandal in a Christian Bishop to instruct men in the mode of destroying mankind, the King answered, "Let not that afflict your conscience, for the quicker the conflict, the less the slaughter," or in words to that effect. I mention this to do justice to the King, whose understanding it was the fashion to decry. In all the conversations I had with him, he appeared to me not to be at all deficient in quickness or intelligence.

In September, 1786, I wrote to the Duke of Rutland to the following effect:

"The White Boys, I understand, give you trouble about tithes. I know nothing concerning the nature of their claims, but I will

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state to you my abstract notion of the subject. It is of use to bear in mind the true principles of legislation, though it may not be always expedient to practise them. The clergy are hired by the state, and they are paid by tithes. When these tithes were first granted, there was but one sect of Christians, the Catholics. Whether the mode of paying the clergy which was then established was the best which could have been thought of, has been doubted by many. I think there was none preferable to it at that time; when all men were of the same religion, and when that religion had some hold on men's minds. The case is now much changed in both these points; a variety of sects have sprung up in England and Ireland, and religion itself is not so highly esteemed as it was formerly. Most men of fortune care little about religion, and they grudge the clergy what is due to them, by laws which were made long before they or any of their ancestors possessed the estates, which are now saddled with the incumbrance of tithes.

"It does not become any legislature to give way, on principles of equity, to the demands of these men: they are as evidently founded on avarice and injustice as if all the copyholders in the kingdom were to demand an exemption from the payment of the lords' rents, to which their estates have for many centuries been subject. But, on principles of utility, it may be expedient to soothe their prejudices, if their combination is a powerful one, by listening to any change which they may propose in the mode of paying the clergy; provided the change be grounded on a principle, which they will not readily admit, that the clergy be not plundered, and that the gentlemen who propose the change be not benefited by the plunder.

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"The other point, which respects the payment made by sectaries, has more difficulty in it; and it becomes perplexed, indeed, when a great majority of a country is not of that sect which is established by government. The just principle is this: every man should contribute his due proportion to the maintenance of the ministers of religion, (for no state can subsist without some religion,) and a Christian state should allow a co-establishment of the different sects of Christians; that each individual might have an opportunity of frequenting his own place of worship, without being burdened by any additional payment to his own minister, exclusive of what he paid to the minister established by the state.

"This co-establishment cannot, probably, take place in countries which have been long accustomed to patronise one particular mode of worship, with a simple toleration of others; nor is there any injustice in its not taking place, whilst the majority of the persons of property in the country are of opinion that it is more for the interests of the state to support one sect exclusively, than to support all sects promiscuously. The dissenters in England constitute, it has been said, a fourth part of the whole community, but they do not possess, I think, a fiftieth part of the property of the whole kingdom. Whether it would be advantageous to the state that their ministers should be paid by the state, is a question on which I have had no occasion to form an opinion; but I am clear in this, that they suffer no injustice in paying tithes, because the lands, out of which the tithes issue, were subject to that payment ages before the name of a dissenter was heard of. They may as justly be compelled (not to frequent a place of worship which they dislike, that is quite another thing) to pay towards a religious establishment which they dislike, as Your Grace and I,

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and many other good Whigs, were compelled to contribute to the support of the American war, which we reprobated from the first as impolitic and unjust. The minority in all such cases is rightly concluded by the majority.

" I do not believe that the next session of Parliament will pass as easily as the last has done. The country gentlemen think that they are not treated with sufficient respect, and I wish there be no mischief brewing from other quarters. I neither am nor desire to be in the secret, but I can see a little into futurity as well as other men; and, without looking into futurity, I see some things which I do not like. I told you when I would not come up to vote against Mr. Fox's India Bill, out of regard to a part of the then administration, *that a new ministry would be but a new coalition.* I think I then said nothing amiss, for *Charles Jenkinson* is *become Lord Hawkesbury!!!* — In my attachment to yourself,

" I am your unalterably affectionate friend,

" R. LANDAFF."

I will put down the Duke's answer to this letter; not because it contains a compliment to myself, but because it shows how earnest he was in whatever he thought respected the public good, and how forcibly he both thought and wrote, far beyond the conceptions of those who knew him not.

" My dear Lord, Phœnix Park, Oct. 7. 1786.

" I HAVE to return you my best thanks for the trouble you have given yourself to go into the question of the disturbances which have for some time agitated the province of Munster, but which appear now to be nearly, if not *in toto*, happily subsided.

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I do not, however, think you place the subject in dispute on the precise point of ground on which it should stand, because you have not the exact premises to argue upon. But as, without flattery, no man's opinions on all subjects is more weighty with me than yours, and especially in a matter of this nature, I will have the whole cause of dispute accurately drawn up for your consideration, where you will see the grievances complained of, which, in a degree, are founded, but which it is difficult to redress without endangering what must be supported; and at the same time it is impossible to suffer the country from time to time to be involved in a state little short of war. I have this other consideration in sending you the papers I allude to; it will afford matter for our future correspondence. I have no apprehension about the strength of government in either country; and I trust you will find the daily increase of the funds, which I verily believe to be permanent, and without art, together with a solid extension of commerce, and the opening new channels for our manufactures, to be weapons in the hand of the minister by which he will beat down all before him. As for the accession of Jenkinson, I do not consider it in the odious light of a coalition; he is brought forward into a particular line of office, to preside over the commerce of the country, for which he is the best qualified of any man in the kingdom. His *price was a peerage*, and, as I said on the India Bill, when he gave salaries to Lord Fitzwilliam, &c., "Men will serve better if they be paid according to their wishes;" so whether his object be honour, emolument, or both, it matters but little, if you obtain the best man for the particular line in which you wish to employ him. I am persuaded you will never find Tory principles pervading the system pursued by the

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present administration. At all events the coalition, if such it be, is a very different one from that which was the *caput horum et causa malorum.*

"Believe me to be ever

"Your affectionate friend,

"RUTLAND."

I did not receive any further information from His Grace relative to the disturbances in Ireland, till the month of January, 1787, and then he sent me two pamphlets, and I immediately wrote to him the following letter in reply.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"I THANK Your Grace for the two Pamphlets. I have read them twice over; and the main thing I have learned from them is, that your disturbances are occasioned by the Catholic Farmers. The only matter which excites my surprise is the short-sightedness of the Protestant possessors of land. They are infatuated by avaricious expectations, or they would to a man have insisted on their tenants paying punctually the fair amount of their tithes to the clergy. They are desirous to pay no tithes for their lands; the event may be, that they will have no lands to pay for.

"That the *Catholics* should be unwilling to pay the tithe of their labour, or other property, for the maintenance of a *Protestant* clergy is, in the nature of things, to be expected; and, as Popery is the religion of a great majority of the state, in strict justice it ought to be the established religion of the country. In other words, the revenue raised by the authority of the state

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from all its subjects, for the express purpose of instructing all in religion, is unjustly expended in the instruction of a small part of the whole.

" This observation cannot be obviated by saying that every man ought to be of the religion of the state, for every man ought to obey, not government, but his conscience in his mode of worshipping God. This would be the plain truth of the case, and government would be guilty of evident injustice towards the Catholics, provided the religious tenets of the Catholics were unmixed with political principles adverse to the civil constitution of the state. But as there have been since the Reformation many proofs, both in England and Ireland, of a contrary disposition in the Catholics, it may be thought proper that the abstract right of the Catholics should, in this instance, give way in Ireland to the public safety. And yet I own I do not like the doctrine of any government compelling its members to submit to injustice; for this is the very doctrine which lost us America.

" But on the supposition, that no relief can be *safely* granted to the Catholics, the hand of government should be extended with decided force to the protection of the Protestants in all their rights; the insurgents should be speedily and effectually subdued. No man will suspect me of a want of toleration in religious matters; yet I own I have looked upon the concessions which have been made to the Catholics, both here and in Ireland, with a jealous eye; and I shall ever continue to think that Protestant government is unwise which trusts power to the Catholics, till it shall be clearly proved, that if they had the opportunity they would not use it to the oppression of the Protestants. There are some enlightened gentlemen among the Catholics; but the

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persecuting spirit of the Roman Church remains in the hearts of the generality of its members, and whilst it does remain, Popery must be watched, intimidated, restrained. Is it an impossible stroke of policy to attach the bishops and clergy of the Papists to the state, by making it their interest to be faithful and peaceable subjects? A *Regium Dorum* of forty or fifty thousand a year would have a great effect.

"I will not enlarge on this hint, because at this distance I cannot judge of its practicability.

"I am told that in many parts of Ireland there are no Parsonage houses: (this is true also of England, and the same remedy might be applied:) in such places the livings, when they become vacant, should be *sequestered* for two or three years, and the monies thence arising should be applied to the erection of houses in which the ministers might reside; or some other plan should be thought of for building them fit habitations, and *residence should then be enforced;* for nothing tends more to civilise a country than a resident clergy.

"You have a difficult part to act. The Catholics, were they faithful subjects, would have a clear right to complain of oppression; and they will not admit that they are not faithful subjects; nor will it be the interest of government to irritate them, by showing a suspicion of their fidelity. The best mode of conduct is, in my judgment, to punish with rigour all breaches of the peace, and, if the civil power is insufficient for the execution of the civil laws, to use the military; for there is an end of government when the laws cannot be executed. I abhor the use of the military in all cases where a due deference is paid to the laws; but when numbers of men obstruct the regular course of law,

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and overpower the ordinary officers of justice, it is right to introduce and to use, as long as the necessity of the case requires it, extraordinary ones.

"All this however goes on the supposition, that no redress can be granted to the Catholics, consistently with the safety of the state.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

A day or two after I had sent to him the preceding letter, I wrote to him the following, which finished the political advice I gave to the Duke of Rutland, whilst he was in Ireland; at least, if there were any other letters, I kept no copies of them: —

"My dear Lord Duke,

"IN my last, I said nothing to Your Grace on the commutation of tithes, and yet it is probable that the subject may be agitated in your Parliament; I will therefore, in as few words as I can, state what I think just, and perhaps expedient, on that head.

"I am a friend to a commutation, because I am a friend to charity and good neighbourhood; I wish the commutation to be in land, because I would have the means of the clergy certain, and not dependent on the fluctuation in the value of money. The cry against tithes has not arisen from any extortion of the clergy, either in this kingdom or in Ireland; but it does now subsist in both countries, and it obstructs in both the Christian utility of the ministry, and on that account I wish to see the occasion of such obstruction removed.

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The quantity of land which should be given in exchange I pretend not to ascertain. The clergy must be contented, in the present temper of the Irish, with what they can get; yet it ought to be so liberal a commutation, as will enable every parson to live creditably and hospitably in the midst of his parishioners. A proper provision being made for every minister, his residence should be made an *absolute condition* of his receiving it.

"Pluralities and non-residence are scandals in the Christian church, as a church, and injurious to those interests of the state, for the promotion of which it is at the expense of maintaining a clergy.

"One thing I beg to recommend to you, and it is an act of only pure justice — that none of the present clergy be compelled to accept the commutation. If an act is passed, let it take place, either in such cases as the present incumbents shall of themselves desire, or as they shall severally die. There is no injustice in altering either the value of the benefice, or the mode of raising that value, when the property of the benefice reverts as it were to the state on the death of an incumbent; but there would be injustice in compelling the present incumbent of any church to accede to a change of property which he disliked.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

The disorder which had attacked me in 1781, still continued with great violence, and rendered the discharge of my duty, as Professor of Divinity, to the last degree irksome to my feelings, and dangerous to my existence. Three years before this time, I had intimated to Mr. Pitt my wishes for any piece of preferment which would enable me to resign my professorship; for even

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with it I was worse provided for than any of my brethren, and without it I should have had a church income of only about twelve hundred a-year. It went very much against me to renew my application to Mr. Pitt; but I was concerned not only for myself, but for the honour of the University, which ought never to have a deputy in the theological chair, and I foresaw that I could not long continue to do the duty of it. On the death, therefore, of the Bishop of Durham, I wrote to Mr. Pitt, not for that bishopric, but merely expressing a general hope, that some management might take place which would permit me, without ruining my family, to resign my professorship. In a few days Mr. Pitt sent the following answer to my application.

"My dear Lord, Downing-street, Jan. 23. 1787.

"I was honoured with Your Lordship's letter, which the engagements of the time prevented me from being sooner able to answer. I should on many accounts have been happy if I could have been instrumental in promoting Your Lordship's wishes, but various circumstances on the present occasion put it out of my power.

"I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,

"Your most obedient and faithful servant,

"W. Pitt."

I sent an answer to this letter in the following words:—

"My dear Sir, Great George-Street, Jan. 24. 1787.

"It is not for me to enquire what circumstances prevented you from promoting my wishes; I am desirous of believing that

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they were of a weighty nature, for I am more hurt at my not having an occasion of considering Mr. Pitt as my private friend, than I am at his neglect of me as a minister. I must call it, in my present ignorance of circumstances, neglect; for there were various ways in which my wishes might have been gratified. They were not founded in avarice; they extended not so much to an increase of income as to a change of situation; and that I consider as a favour, which a life spent, and a constitution impaired, in the discharge of the most difficult offices of an University, entitled me to expect from any minister.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

I knew that this letter would offend the high spirit of Mr. Pitt, but mine was as high as his own; and I disdained concealing my chagrin at being passed by without notice, when extreme bad health, which I had long laboured under, joined to the consideration of my having, on many occasions, been serviceable to Mr. Pitt; of my having been fifteen years Professor of Divinity, seven years Professor of Chemistry, four years Moderator in the University, and I know not how many years Private Tutor, Assistant Tutor, Head Tutor, in Trinity College, gave me a reasonable confidence, that the wishes which I had so long before expressed to Mr. Pitt, would, on this occasion, have been attended to. Whether they ought to have been attended to or not, let posterity judge.

On the 10th of February following, a meeting of the Bishops was convened at the Bounty-Office, on a summons from the

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Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the instance, as we were given to understand, of Mr. Pitt, who wanted to know the sentiments of the Bench relative to the repeal of the *Test* and *Corporation* Acts. The question proposed at the meeting was put thus: — "Ought the Test and Corporation Acts to be maintained?" I was the junior bishop, and as such, was called upon to deliver my opinion first, which I did in the negative. The only bishop who voted with me was Bishop Shipley. The then Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of Worcester, Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Norwich, Exeter, Bangor, Bath and Wells, Rochester, and Lichfield, voted that the Acts ought to be maintained. When the question was thus decided, that my brethren might see I was not sorry to be known to have voted as I had done, I moved, that not only the result of the meeting, but that the names of those who had voted for and against the maintenance of the Acts, should be sent to Mr. Pitt; and the motion was passed unanimously.

The question for the Repeal of the Acts was then lost in the Commons, by a majority of 78 — 178 : 100. It was again brought forward in 1789, and was again lost by a majority of 20 — 122 : 102. This small majority encouraged the Dissenters to bring it forward again in 1790; but the cry of the *Church's danger* began to be raised, and meetings were held by some alarmed clergymen, principally in the dioceses of York and Chester, and the question was lost by a majority of 194 — 299 : 105. In a conversation I then had with Lord *Camden*, President of the Council, I plainly asked him if he foresaw any danger likely to result to the church establishment, from the repeal of the Test

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Act: he answered at once, none whatever. On my urging the policy of conciliating the Dissenters by granting their petition, his answer made a great impression on my mind, as it showed the principle on which great statesmen sometimes condescend to act. It was this: — *Pitt was wrong in refusing the former application of the Dissenters, but he must be now supported.*

The cause of the Dissenters was much injured, by some indiscreet expressions of Dr. Priestley, relative to the approaching fall of all civil and ecclesiastical establishments; though, justly speaking, *Dr. Hartley*, I think, was more answerable for such an opinion than Dr. Priestley, who had probably adopted it from the writings of the former. Dr. Hartley's famous book, entitled, "Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations," was first published in 1749. The eighty-first proposition of that book, says, "It is probable, that all the civil governments will be overturned;" and the eighty-second says, "It is probable, that the present forms of church government will be dissolved." Both these propositions are grounded on the interpretation of certain prophecies; but these prophecies are neither so distinctly set forth, nor so indubitably explained by Dr. Hartley, as to induce a cool-headed man implicitly to adopt them; though the fall of the French monarchy and church drew some men's attention towards them about that time. I have an anecdote concerning these two propositions worth mentioning; it was told me by *Lady Charlotte Wentworth*. She happened to be attending her father at Bath when this book was first published, and being much alarmed at what she had read in it, rela-

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tive to the fall of governments and of churches, she asked Dr. Hartley, on his next visit to her father, whom he attended as his physician, when these terrible things would happen. He answered, "I am an old man, and shall not live to see them; but you are a young woman, and probably will see them:" and more persons than Her Ladyship thought, that the French revolution was the beginning of the completion of Dr. Hartley's prediction.

In a few weeks after the failure of the motion for the repeal of the Test Act, in 1787, Mr. Pitt's Commercial Treaty with France was brought forward. I had expressed my disapprobation of it publicly, for several months before, to all my friends; but the part I took against it was attributed, by the ministerial writers, to the resentment I had conceived against the minister, for his neglect of me. That would not have been (in the present state of public principle amongst us) an improbable reason; but the real fact was, that long before it was brought into the House of Commons, I had expressed my dislike of the treaty, principally from an apprehension, that a free commercial intercourse between the two nations would give the French an opportunity of adopting all our machinery, and of discovering our manufacturing secrets, on which I knew that much of our success in trade depended. To give a single instance of this: hundreds of waggon loads of Birmingham goods have been sold in Germany, and in other parts of the Continent, from stirring a pot of melted brass with an hedge-stake, which would not have been saleable at all had the pot been stirred with an iron instrument. I spoke twice

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against the treaty; one of the speeches is reported in Debrett's Parliamentary Register, but I have no memorial of the other, except a general kind of recollection, that it was employed in proving, that in our trade with all the world, there had been, on an average of the last fifty years, a balance in our favour of two millions a year, and that I thought it impolitic to risk the permanence of such prosperity, by entering into a commercial treaty with France, which might aggrandise our enemy, and ruin our ally in Holland. I then added, as a kind of prophecy, *If France shall ever, by force or by fraud, unite the marine of Holland to her own, there will be an end of our history as a great people!* Falsus sim vates!

The opposition, on this occasion, paid me great attention, till I told them that they must not consider me as joining their party; that I approved of and should support Mr. Pitt, but that on questions of great importance, I never would be attached to any party.

I saw the Chancellor, (Thurlow,) a day or two after I had spoken; he told me that he liked very much all I had said, though he could not agree with me in my conclusion against entering into the treaty. I said there was one point which I had but just touched, for fear of saying too much upon it, which, if it were likely to take place, would reconcile me in a great measure to the treaty, and that I hoped it had been thoroughly discussed in the cabinet. He asked what it was; I answered it was the chance of our becoming, in a great degree, the carriers of the pro-

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duce and manufactures of both France and Great Britain, by which our marine would be greatly increased. He replied, that he expected what I alluded to would take place, and that I had conducted myself as a real statesman, in not dwelling on that subject. So much for the Chancellor's flattery.

The Bishop of Landaff's speech in the House of Lords, against entering into a commercial treaty with France, as reported in Debrett's Parliamentary Register.

"The Bishop of Landaff said, he had yesterday expatiated a little beyond the immediate subject of the then debate; he had done it with design, and his design was, that he might on that day, (one of the most important that the nation had ever seen,) take up less of that time which Their Lordships could employ so much more to their satisfaction, in listening to others than to him: with the same view he would not recur to what he had yesterday advanced, though he must take the liberty of differing from the noble Marquis, with respect to the importance of our trade with France, in iron and other articles in the time of Charles the Second; and he thought it by no means proved, that France had made so little improvement in her manufactures, whilst we had made so much in ours, as to render the trade now decidedly safe, which was then clearly dangerous; but he would not dwell on this point; though it would admit an ample discussion, he would take new ground; he would proceed to examine the motives which had induced His Majesty's ministers to negotiate a treaty with France, and to abandon the policy of their

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ancestors. But when he spoke of examining the motives, he must be understood to mean only the open and avowed motives; there might be secret ones of more weight and authority than any which he had heard spoken of; and when he considered the enlarged views, the profound policy, the retrospective wisdom, and the prospective sagacity which always ought, and usually did pervade the conduct of princes, and which, he trusted, had on this occasion actuated the cabinet of His Majesty, he was persuaded that there were such; he was disposed to think that the framers of this treaty had a moral certainty, that the French in consideration of it would never more, either directly or indirectly, disturb us in our possessions in Asia; that they would not by underhand negotiation, attempt to rob us of every commercial advantage, every political alliance we had in Europe; that they would not, either secretly or openly, foment dissensions in Ireland. He trusted that His Majesty's ministers had a clear foresight, that in consequence of this treaty our navy would not only not be diminished, that was not enough, but that it would be increased; nor was that enough, but that it would be increased in an higher proportion than the navy of France would be increased by our becoming the carriers, in a great measure, of the produce and manufactures of both countries; could this point be proved to his satisfaction, it would go a great way towards lessening his apprehensions of the treaty. He trusted that the persons concerned in forming the treaty, had the strongest expectations, that the introduction of our manufactures into France at this critical period, would be so far from becoming an incentive to French industry, that it would immediately check, and in a short time annihilate their rising manufactures of cotton, cutlery, hardware,

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and pottery, in which they were so ambitious to rival us. These, and motives such as these, may have been amongst the primary ones, which incited His Majesty's ministers to negotiate a treaty with France; but as to the ostensible ones, he could see but two of any consequence; one was, a prospect of continuing the peace by opening a commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms; another was, a prospect of augmenting our revenue by extending our trade.

"Would to God, My Lords, he said, that the spirit of the Christian religion would exert its influence over the hearts of individuals in their public capacity, as much as, we trust, it does over their conduct in private life; then would revenge, avarice, and ambition, which have fattened the earth with the blood of her children, be banished from the councils of princes, and there would be no more war. The time will come, *the prophet hath said it, and I believe it,* the time will assuredly come, when nation, literally speaking, shall no longer lift up hand against nation. No man will rejoice, My Lords, more than I shall, to see the time when peace shall depend on an obedience to the benevolent principles of the Gospel; but whilst it is simply made to depend on the selfish prospects of commercial policy, I can have no confidence in its continuance; it will not last a moment longer than till it is the interest, real or apparent, of France to break it.

"Had we forgotten; no length of time would ever obliterate the circumstance from his memory, it even yet rankled in his recollection; had we not heard during the progress of the American war, every annual Speech from the Throne, every monthly dispatch from our Minister at Paris, (of whose ability to detect hypocrisy, had it been possible to detect it, no one could doubt,)

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announced to this honest; unsuspecting nation, the peaceable disposition of the cabinet at Versailles; and yet, when the long wished for auspicious moment arrived, in which she could most distress us, most benefit herself, with what bold and barefaced perfidy did she break the peace? And shall we even now, whilst we are yet smarting from the consequences of her treachery, become a second time the good easy dupes of her duplicity; it was not a trifling lustration that would in his mind expiate the perfidy of French councils. He admired the French as an intelligent and an ingenious people; he loved them as an agreeable and polite people; but he dreaded them as a great, he suspected them as a negotiating, and he detested them as an ambitious people. Let no man, he said, talk to me of exchanging ancient prejudices for liberal sentiments. He hoped he did not want more than others did, liberality of sentiment in private life; but liberality of sentiment was a complex idea, the component parts of which, when applied to great nations, he could not unfold; before he could begin to think liberally of France, he must learn to forget America. He would not part with his prejudices against France; they were prejudices which had for ages preserved the independence and liberty of his country, and he would carry them to his grave with him; he did not say that France was the *natural* enemy of Great Britain; but he said more, he believed her to be the *political enemy of the liberties of every state in Europe*; in a word, he could not trust her. He was sorry to have occasion to use such plain language; but not to suspect where you had been deceived, was to act with the credulity of a child; not to take warning from experience, was to act with an audacious temerity, which no prospect of advantage could justify. He meant to say

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on this point, that how zealously soever he wished, as a man and a Christian, for the peace of the world, the prospect of a continuance of the peace with France did not operate on his mind with any force whatever as a reason for approving the commercial treaty. There might, or there might not be other reasons for approving it, but this was none. We are at peace; both nations are sick of war; there wants not a commercial treaty to preserve the peace, or if there did, it would be inefficacious to the end; since every interest of France, her landed, manufacturing, and commercial interest would be made to stoop to her ambition. This commercial regulation was an opiate by which she wished to lull this nation into a torpid state of confidential security until she acquired strength by cajoling some, by intimidating other powers in Europe, to strike the blow she had never ceased aiming at this country.

"He came, he said, to the consideration of the other ostensible motive for this treaty; the prospect of increasing the revenue, by extending the trade of the country There was an argument in favour of this point, which in the opinion of many would be conclusive; it was the approbation of the manufacturing interest of this country; he said approbation, for when the manufacturers were silent, we might be sure they were pleased — *tacent satis laudant;* this argument he doubted not, would be used with great force by the favourers of this treaty; the silence of the manufacturers would on this occasion have a more prevailing eloquence than attended their speech on a former occasion. It had been remarked, that in theological controversy, the opinions of the ancient fathers of the church were treated with respect or contempt, according as they happened to make for or

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against the party; and the opinions of manufacturers on political subjects, seemed to meet with a similar fate; for when they made for us, they were highly extolled; when they made against us, they were treated with ridicule and neglect.

" No man could have a greater respect for our manufacturers, many of whom he had long personally known, than he had; he made no question, they were able to explain the consistency of their conduct on this occasion, compared with the line they followed when the Irish propositions were before Parliament; but to his apprehension there was scarcely a single objection to the Irish propositions which did not apply with equal or greater force to this treaty. He would not enter into the detail, but he had read the evidence with great attention which the manufacturers delivered at their Lordships' bar, and he was convinced, that all that was said concerning cheapness of labour, price of raw materials, lightness of taxation, exemption from duties, inefficacy of countervailing duties, facility of smuggling, and other points, was as applicable to the commercial treaty as it was to the Irish propositions; and every one must acknowledge, that the industry, ingenuity, and capital of France was more dangerous to the manufactures of this country, than the ingenuity, industry, and capital of Ireland could have been. There was one difference, he owned, between the two countries; our manufacturers were in possession of the Irish market; they could derive no benefit from the Irish propositions, and that was a good reason why they should run no risk; they are not in possession of the French market, and that is a reason why they should run a risk to obtain it. The speculation of pouring at first a large quantity of goods into France, was a bewitching speculation of profit; but it did in

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no degree whatever invalidate the danger of future competition, as established by their own evidence.

" But leaving the consistency of the manufacturers to be explained by themselves, it was necessary that he should explain his own. He was a friend to the Irish propositions, and he was an enemy to the commercial treaty. Where was the consistency of conduct? clearly in this, that France and Ireland stand in very different relations to this country. He was a friend to the Irish propositions, not from a full persuasion that the arrangements which they held out would not in many instances have interfered with the manufacturing interest of Great Britain; but from a conviction that the wealth, strength, dignity, and consequence of Ireland would primarily or ultimately be the wealth, strength, dignity, and consequence of Great Britain. He was an enemy to this treaty, from a full persuasion that it would in many instances interfere with the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, and from a conviction that the wealth of France was the poverty of Britain, its strength our weakness, its dignity our disgrace. Aggrandize Ireland even at your own risk, still it is the empire which is made rich and powerful; aggrandize France at the risk of your disadvantage, and you accelerate the ruin of the empire.

" The most favourable argument for the treaty (though it was an argument of little force when compared with the unfavourable political tendency of the treaty) was the probability of our trade being greatly extended, and this probability was thought to be converted into a certainty by the acquiescence of the manufacturers. He did not mean to question the judgment of the manufacturers; it was far superior to his own. He did not mean

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to say that they were actuated by present prospects of gain, and were unsolicitous about future contingent dangers to the state, though, if that was the principle of their conduct, he thought, as manufacturers, they would be justified; for it was out of their province to become guardians of the nation's welfare; but, waving all this, he would submit one argument to the judgment of the House, and he trusted it would be considered as an argument of great weight, inasmuch as it was derived from the information of the manufacturers themselves.

"One of the most intelligent, and every way most respectable, manufacturers in this kingdom, delivered it as his decided opinion at their Lordships' bar, that it was by our machines, presses, dies, and tools, that the British manufacturers were enabled to baffle all competition with foreign markets, notwithstanding every disadvantage of high price of labour, high taxes, and the other contingent burdens, under which our manufactures laboured; and that in proportion as these tools were exported or copied into foreign countries, our exports of manufactures to those countries would decrease. The legislature, in conformity to this opinion, enacted a law prohibiting the exportation of tools: now he had it on the very best authority, that, notwithstanding this law, every tool used at Sheffield, at Birmingham, and at Manchester, might be seen in a public building at Paris, where they were deposited for the inspection of their workmen. The person from whom he had this intelligence was one of the most expert manufacturers at Birmingham, and one of the best judges of tools in the world; and he acknowledged with regret, that the intention of the act he had mentioned was wholly frustrated. Thus then stands the argument, in proportion as our tools are copied into foreign

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countries, our exports to those countries must decrease. France had our tools; the conclusion is, she will not take our manufactures. The premises were derived from undoubted testimony, and the conclusion was not illogical.

" The value of our iron exports was, according to one calculation, a tenth, according to another, a ninth part of the value of all the other exports of the country; and, it was with concern he mentioned it, in this manufactory of iron the French were at that moment making the greatest exertions. They cast pig-iron in Burgundy; and one of our own countrymen, who was related to one of the most distinguished iron masters in England, was said to be associated with the French in that business. They know how to cast cylinders, and to bore them for steam-engines, to the full as well as we did. Their cutlery at Mouslins was brought to so great perfection, that it equalled the Sheffield cutlery in neatness and taste, and excelled it in cheapness; they had large cutlery manufactories, in which they had several patterns not known at Birmingham, and some of them more elegant than any there. The importation of our hardware into France, which was looked upon as one of the most favourite features of the treaty, would not, he apprehended, be at present to any great extent; it would soon be nothing; and ere long France, it was to be feared, would import more into this country.

" But, it may be thought, (he had heard it observed,) that our great plenty of pit-coal is of itself a circumstance so much in our favour, that though the French might have our tools, and be desirous of emulating us in all our manufactures, they would not be able to stand a competition with us, notwithstanding the cheap-

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ness of their labour. This, he said, was an unsafe foundation to build on. No nation ever began to look for fuel under ground till their woods were gone; and whoever had compared the strata of earth in France with those where coal was found in England, (for it was not found every where with us; he did not know whether it had ever been found under chalk,) could entertain no doubt of coal existing as plentifully in France as in England. But if this should be thought the mere reverie of a philosopher, he would substantiate the conjecture by an authority which none of their Lordships, who happened to be acquainted with the works of Mr. Hellot, would think fit to deny. This gentleman published, in the year 1750, two volumes in 4to. on mining; and in the preface to the first volume he had this observation, which he would give their Lordships in English, for he had not kept commerce enough with France to speak their language as a Parisian.—"We "find, in almost all the provinces of this kingdom, mines of pit-"coal, the coal of which is at least as good as that of England "and Scotland, in favour of which men were so much pre-"possessed."—Here is a testimony of the most unexceptionable kind, and it is confirmed by fact; the French use coal in the various fabrics which are established in Normandy, in Burgundy, in Languedoc, and in other places; he believed they had lately begun to char it, and to use it in that state in the fabrics at Paris. He had been told, that their coal was pyritous and slaty; it was not all so, and that was a fault which would probably mend as they dug deeper. They imported from this country about 12,000 chaldrons a year, and the importation would increase till their coal-pits got established.

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" He had touched upon the exertions of the French in the iron-manufactory, and as to the glass-manufactory, that, it was allowed on all hands, must be given up, or the excise taken off. Germany, France, and Ireland, already undersold us in glass at foreign markets. He did not agree with the noble Marquis in thinking, that our plate-glass would alone be in danger. They would import common glass. He would give their Lordships an instance which had come to his knowledge, of the great activity of the French, in the most difficult part of this manufacture, in cutting glass. They had but very lately, within these two or three years, made any serious attempts in this business; and he had seen a cut-glass cup, bought at a retail shop in Paris, last summer, for 2s. 11d., in which the workmanship was exceedingly good. One of our best London workmen was ordered, by one of the first cut-glass manufacturers in the kingdom, to cut a similar cup; he did so; and he charged five shillings for the workmanship alone. What the low price of labour will do in other instances, may be gathered from what it has done in this. It was quite a mistake to suppose that the French either wanted ingenuity or industry. It was not many years ago since the Swiss printed linens became so fashionable in Paris, that no duties or prohibition could keep them out of that city; the manufacturers of printed linens in Paris foresaw the ruin of their fabric, unless they exerted themselves; they did exert themselves, and they now employ the poor people in that branch, and make as beautiful printed linens as any in the world. He could give many other instances of French enterprise and activity; but it would be needless; no one considered liberally and intelligently, how manufacturing skill is transferred by various accidents from one country to another, but must be

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alarmed with a serious apprehension even for our home-market. Our coarse woollens would be secure, till the French learnt how to manage their sheep properly; but our superfines would be beat out of our home-market, or our manufacturers, instead of a mixture of Spanish and English wool, would be obliged to use nothing but Spanish. He had seen Spanish wool manufactured in England to the amount of four guineas a yard, but when our cloths should be made as fine as the French cloths are, they would be sold dearer. He thought not much of their dyes; he had seen as good black and as good scarlet dyed in England as were ever dyed in France; but it was the hardness of our cloths, compared with the French cloths, which hindered them from taking so good a dye. Great quantities of woollens were smuggled into both countries at 14*l.* per cent.: the duty of 12*l.* per cent. would prevent smuggling; but he had no great expectation that France would be a much greater market than it was at present for our woollens. At the treaty of Utrecht, our woollens were prohibited: the French woollen manufactory was then in its infancy; since the year 1760, it has been in very high perfection; it feared not now a competition with the English manufactory; and if there had been the least apprehension for its safety, the French ministry would never have suffered the importation of our woollens upon such an easy duty; they would sedulously have protected a manufactory which had been raised at an immense expense, by government, for above a century. We had nothing to hope from the extension of our woollen trade; they might take a few more coarse goods from us, in order to mix them with their own for the American market, and this, he thought, would be a practice they would follow, and much to our detriment in other articles besides our woollens.

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" But it would be endless," he said, to enter into a detail of all the probable disadvantages of this treaty, and he rather wished to avoid it, from knowing that we could come to no certainty on the subject; for though it was a fair mode of arguing to oppose conjecture to conjecture, speculative disadvantages to speculative advantages; though it might be the most satisfactory mode that the subject would admit, yet it was not a mode he was fond of. It was the misfortune of this treaty that we could know nothing of it but from experiment, and in making the experiment we may be undone.

" But there was a disadvantage in it which he wished he could call speculative; the loss which the revenue would sustain by a diminution of the duties on wines, &c. He would not enter into any calculation on the subject; it had, however, been calculated, he thought properly, to amount to 300,000*l.* a year. There was but one article in which, from the operation of the treaty, this sum could be made up, and, as he had not heard it insisted on, His Majesty's ministers were welcome to the observation, for he had nothing in view but truth. The calculation had proceeded on the suposition that no more wine would be drunk when the duties were lowered, than was drunk at present. This supposition he thought erroneous. He was convinced that for every two pipes of Port which should not be imported, three pipes at least of Claret would be imported, and the additional duty on that additional pipe would compensate the loss arising from the diminution of duty on the quantity now imported. This was proved by wat had happened within these few years in Ireland. When the Irish drank little wine except Claret, they consumed near a third more wine than when their Portugal importation was equal to

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their French one. He thought this country consumed nearer thirty than twenty thousand tons of wine in a year, home-brewed and foreign-brewed; and if but half of what was consumed should be brought from France, half a million of our money, or of our manufactures, must be sent to pay for that article; and he thought they were more likely to take our money than our manufactures; and he had rather our money was lent to any nation in Europe than to France.

"Before he sat down he would take notice of two arguments which were generally adduced in favour of the treaty.

"It was said then, that as France is supposed to contain twenty-four millions of people, and Britain not above eight millions, we shall open to ourselves a market three times as great as the French will open to themselves; and that this was a solid advantage in our favour. He had been told that this was the very argument by which the French ministry endeavoured to prove to us, simple Englishmen, the great favour that France was about to do us, and Their Lordships had just heard it adopted by a noble Marquis; but let it be adopted by whom it might, he could not adopt it; it had a specious appearance, but no foundation; to give it any weight, it should be shown, which had never yet been done, that these twenty-four millions of people had as much occasion for our commodities as we had for theirs, and as much money to lay out in purchasing them as we had to lay out in purchasing theirs. It should be shown that they would as certainly clothe themselves with our woollens and cottons as we should drink their wines and brandies; it was not the number of people, but the number of purchasers that constituted a good market.

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" Another argument in favour of the treaty was built on a foundation still more unsafe.

" It was said that our resources will be increased by an extension of our commerce in so high a degree, that, in case of a future rupture, we shall be more able than ever we were to contend with France.

" This argument was of no possible importance, unless it could be shown that the resources of France will not be increased in so high a rate as ours will be; and this has not, and perhaps cannot, be shown; but without enquiring how, from the operation of the treaty, the 300,000*l.*, which he before mentioned as a defalcation in the customs, could be restored, without examining whether, after this sum was made up, the additional increase of our customs would be greater than the additional increase of the French customs, without discussing the probability of the balance of our trade with France being in our favour now, which the last time it was open between the two countries was so prodigiously against us.

" Waving all the minutiæ of speculative calculation, which nothing but the event could justify on either side, he thought there was an argument, by which it might be shown, that this treaty would contribute to increase the resources of France in a far higher ratio than it would increase our own; and the argument was this: —England, out of her eight millions of inhabitants, employs five millions in her manufactures (it was of no consequence to his conclusion whether it was four or five millions). By the industry and ingenuity of these manufacturers, she had not only supplied her own markets, but had constantly drawn from the other parts of the world those sums by which she had acquired her present

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wealth and strength. When France became a manufacturing country, of her twenty-four millions of inhabitants she would employ fifteen millions in manufactures, and thus, by applying the same means to acquire wealth and strength that we had done, she would acquire three times as much; and, therefore, he looked upon this treaty which incited the French nation to become a manufacturing nation, as contributing to increase her resources in a far higher proportion than it would increase our own, and on that account he thought it was founded on a very short-sighted policy. But, it might be urged, how does the present treaty second the commercial intention of France? Many ways; it seconded the intentions of France in opening to her our home-market, which was the richest market in Europe; it seconded her intentions in exciting her own people to a degree of industry and ingenuity, in order to support their present fabrics; and thus was she spurred to her purpose, both by the fear of loss, and the prospect of advantage; but, above all, it seconded her intentions, by giving her every opportunity she could wish for, of acquiring that manufacturing skill, by which we at present surpassed her and all the world.

"This, he said, was an injury which we should certainly sustain; and it was an injury of such an immense magnitude, that it was not a few hundred thousand pounds a year, it was not half a million, or a whole million, or any sum which the most sanguine financier could expect from the treaty, in addition to our customs, which could in any degree compensate it. If France shall ever cultivate manufactures and commerce in the same degree that we have done, and that we do, our ruin will be inevitable. There was no policy so good as that which would prevent her from doing

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so, none so pernicious as that which facilitated her endeavours, and stimulated her exertions in that way; and this treaty did both in a very alarming degree.

" He had fatigued, he said, the patience of the House; he would trespass no farther than to say, that he was not conscious of having endeavoured to give an undue weight to any thing he had advanced; many, many topics he had, for the sake of brevity, entirely omitted; he had spoken his real opinion as an honest man. *His spirit had ever been too high to enlist himself under the banners of administration, or of any opposition; he would always follow the dictates of his own judgment, and, in cases where his abilities would not enable him to form a judgment, he would not vote.* Any other conduct, he thought, would be a profanation of the holy habit which he then wore. On the present occasion, his judgment was full, clear, decided, positive, against the treaty. If the event of things should prove this judgment to have been erroneous, he would be the first to rejoice at his mistake; the first to ridicule, in the future prosperity of his country, the present imbecillity of his reasoning."

Soon after this I was reduced to the last extremity by a dysentery. The doctors were in despair, but my spirits were uniformly good, and they saved me. After a month's confinement to my bed, I was sent to Bath, the waters of which place did me no good. On my leaving Bath, the man who attended at the pump congratulated me on my having received no benefit: I asked him what he meant. " Because," said he, " I never knew any one who got a fit of the gout by drinking the waters, who ever got rid of it again."

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I leave it to the Bath physicians to refute this calumny against King Bladud.

On my return from Bath to Cambridge, my physicians absolutely insisted on my never more presiding in the Divinity schools. I offered a grace to the Senate, appointing Doctor Kipling my deputy; this grace was passed, *nem. diss.*, May 26th, 1787, with many expressions, of the most flattering kind, from all the leading members of the Senate, regretting the occasion of its being necessary. Doctor Kipling had offered his services to me as a deputy when I was made a bishop; but having determined never to appoint a deputy, whilst my health would permit me to perform the duty of my office, I had at that time declined his courtesy; I now accepted it, and gave him a stipend of 200*l.* at first, and soon after of 250*l.* a year, and latterly of more than two-thirds of what the Professorship was worth, when it came into my hands.

I concluded my speech at the following Commencement with a kind of farewell address to the University, which then had, and still has, my warmest wishes for its prosperity :—

" Habetis, auditores spectatissimi, quod in hac temporis brevitate et angustia de gravissima quæstione proferre potui; pauca de meipso dicenda restant. Oratorem profecto τα περι σεαυτου balbutientem Atticæ fastidiunt aures; me tamen de meis rebus breviter loquentem benigne exaudiatis rogo; atque hoc humanitatis vestræ indicium eo fidentius expecto, quod vestra negotia nostris quodammodo implicata arbitrabamini.

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" Adversa per sex fere integros annos valetudine laboravi ; per hoc spatium Scholæ me Præsidem sæpius habuerunt, quum ni vis animi corporis vim superásset in lectulo queritantem habuissent medici. Privatum hoc incommodum non queror, nec idem diutius tulisse recusássem, modo summo hoc vestro munere rite defungi diutius potuissem. Medicis extrema mihi in scholarum pistrino diutius sudanti prædicantibus aurem animumve non antea præbui, quam Academiæ commoditatem, scholarum disciplinam, munerisque honestissimi dignitatem, nostro infortunio potius quam culpâ in discrimen adduci videbam : verum fateor, morbi sanationem meam multum diuque flagitantis, maximum malum habui quod negotia vestra scholastica me quodammodo negligere coegit.

" Qualem, academici, me habuistis professorem non est ut ipse dicam at de modo, atque animo quibus res vestras curavi verbum audire haud vos pigebit.

" In disputationibus theologicis ab usu vocabulorum quæ in sacro codice non reperiuntur, qualia sunt, ουσια, ομοουσια, ομοιουσια, τριας, *peccatum originale, sacramentum, satisfactio, quantum potui abstinere religio mihi fuit. Pleraque ex his similibusque vocabulis excogitavit scholasticorum acumen, quo adversariorum convellant et sua tueantur judicia. Verum enimvero quam maxime verendum est, ne dum modorum mixtorum ideas, ac verba nova ad eas designendas ex arbitrio fingamus, potius quam ex sacris codicibus hauriamus, a veritate aberramus ; ne verbis* αγραφοις *ad dogmata etiam* αγραφα *propaganda utamur. Si quid in verbo Dei occultum nobis ac involutum sit, humano id aperire judicio, novis verbis exponere, frustra conabimur.*

" Articulos ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ad doctrinam aliquam confirmandam in scholis theologicis citari nunquam permisi ; id autem prohibui non

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quod istos articulos temno, sed quod Scripta evangelica et apostolica, Cranmeri ac Ridleii scriptis, imo ecclesiarum omnium ac conciliorum decretis antepono. Cum purum veritatis fontem mihi licuit adire, rivulos inde hominum studiis deductos, ligni, fœni, stipularum sordibus inquinatos, sectari, totis viribus recusavi. Hanc in disputando Παῤῥησιαν, *ipsa commendat vel certa non improbat ecclesia nostra cum nihil pro articulo fidei habendum statuit, nisi quod ex sacra Scriptura probari possit. Utrum vero dogma aliquod ex sacra Scriptura probari possit necne, nullibi honestius quam in scholis academicis disquirendum videtur.*

" Nonnulla in ecclesia Anglicana tam doctrinam ejus quam disciplinam et reditus distributionem respicientia magno cum religionis Christianæ commodo, magno cum ecclesiæ ac reipublicæ emolumento posse novari, me olim censuisse, et in eadem adhuc perstare sententia lubens fateor. Hæc autem omnia atque singula in scholis theologicis disputare, de industria vitavi. Hominis quidem non est honesti quæ privatus improbat publice defendere; neque tamen regii in theologia professoris unquam esse arbitrabor, nova, quæ privatus probat, publica sua defensione aliis commendare, aut de antiquis, legum auctoritate munitis et sancitis robur ac dignitatem suam scholastica disputatione derogari. Hæc quidem mea placita aliis obtruderi non conor. Zelum proselytos opinionibus de re quacunque nostris adjiciendi nullum omnino sentio; hæc tamen in mente mea radices altius egerunt quam ut ineptis frivolorum hominum ratiunculis aut insulsis malevolorum dicteriis inde evellantur. Miseris quidem hisce insipientium obtrectationibus responsum afferre, licet nullo id fiat negotio hactenus non sum dignatus neque in posterum dignabor.

" Quæstiones a respondentibus in scholis discutiendas, propositas nullas rejeci. Nolui enim pro auctoritate papali aliis os occludere

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quasi id cogitans me solum ad veritatem esse ascensum, aut id metuens ne evangelium Christi sicut evangelium Papæ sanorum indagine labefactatum corruat. Sacros codices in scholis vestris humili summissoque in Deum animo tractavi, quæ clare docent docere, quæ silent, de iisdem ipse silui, quæ captum humanum superantia credenda tradunt, sine ulla dubitatione ipse credens, aliis amplectenda commendavi. Eximium illum virum quem, vobis benigne consentientibus, in locum meum suffeci, laudari nolo, ne adulari videar. Id tantum de eo dicam, quod mei in scholis regiminis nullum sub ejus præsidio restabit desiderium, nostri in hoc theatro laboris, eo perorante, brevi apud vos omnis peribit memoria.

" Summæ autem vestræ in me benevolentiæ gratam recordationem, dum per quatuor olim annos moderatoris officio functus fuerim, dum per septem fere annos chemiam colui, dum per sedecim hosce annos scholis theologicis præfui, quum tandem me non senio attritum, sed morbo inveterato fere confectum, rude donastis, nulla unquam delebit dies nulla conditionis, (si qua fiat) imminuet mutatio.

" Academiam Cantabridgiensem patronam mihi semper concupivi, honestissimam enim semper judicavi. Gloriam enim quæ est consentiens laus bonorum, lucro semper anteposui ac antepono. Mallem proinde vestram comprobationem promereri, quam summis in ecclesiæ opibus frui aut dignitatibus. Ecclesia enim bona sua cum indignis et indoctis, cum iis qui nihil sciunt nisi quo potissimum modo divitum sedentur mensas, aut principes in republica adulentur viros, haud raro participat: vestræ autem comprobationi non patet aditus, nisi qua ducunt morum probitas, erudita industria, doctrina solida. Hæc, auditores optimi, de Alma nostra matre semper dixi, hæc dum vixero dicam."

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With this speech I took my leave of University-business, in which I had been incessantly engaged for near thirty-three years. My application had injured my health, and I was under a necessity of forbearing it for the future. In truth, had my health been better, I should have felt little inclination to persevere in my studies in the manner I had done. I could not bring myself to vote as a minister bade me on all occasions, and I perceived that, such was the temper of the times, or such was the temper of the man, nothing less than that would secure his attention. I saw this to be the case, then, and I then and at all times disdained complying with principles of government so abominably corrupt. I once talked a little to the first Lord Camden on this subject; and he plainly told me, that I had better go to Cambridge and employ myself in writing books, than pretend to follow my own judgment in political matters; that he never knew any man who had attempted to do it, except one very *honest* man, who was little valued by any party,—Sir Joseph Jekyll.

After the Commencement, I went, for the re-establishment of my health into Westmoreland, and, when there, I received the following letter from the Duke of Norfolk, to whom I was then but little known:—

"My Lord, Greystoke, Aug. 4, 1787.

"I CANNOT refrain from giving Your Lordship the information of the death of the Bishop of Carlisle, which happened this day. My friends, no more than myself, have any thing to say to the disposition of the bishoprick, so can only add, that I should be

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glad to know Your Lordship's wishes and power could lead you thither, which (I speak with confidence) would give great satisfaction to this county, and to none more than to, My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

" NORFOLK."

Answer.

" My Lord Duke, Dallam Tower, Aug. 24th, 1787.

" YOUR Grace's very obliging letter, which I received yesterday at this place, demands my sincerest thanks; I beg your Grace to believe that I am incapable of ever forgetting this instance of your attention. The assurances you have been pleased to give me, of my being not unacceptable to the county of Cumberland, have afforded me more pleasure than the possession of the See of Carlisle would have done; for the approbation of good men is both a proof and a proper reward of a good conduct.

" I have no wish whatever respecting the See of Carlisle, nor have made any, the most distant, application for it; and if I had wished for it ever so much, the determination I have formed, of conducting myself independently in parliament, would have been little likely to have promoted my pretensions.

" I sincerely hope, for the credit of the Church and of religion, that neither the bishoprick of Carlisle, nor any other bishoprick, will be prostituted in promoting the purposes of parliamentary policy.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

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About a month before the death of the Bishop of Carlisle, a relation of Sir James Lowther had preached the Commencement-sermon, at Cambridge. Mr. Pitt happened to sit next to me at church, and asked me the name of the preacher, not much approving his performance. I told him report said that he was to be the future bishop of Carlisle; and I begged him to have some respect to the dignity of the Bench whenever a vacancy happened. He assured me that he knew nothing of any such arrangement. Within two months after this, Sir James Lowther applied to Mr. Pitt for the bishoprick of Carlisle for the gentleman whom he had heard preach, and Mr. Pitt, without the least hesitation, promised it. This was one of the many transactions that gave me an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Pitt; I saw that he was ready to sacrifice things the most sacred to the furtherance of his ambition. The gentleman, much to his honour, declined the acceptance of the bishoprick, which Mr. Pitt, with true ministerial policy, had offered him.

The medical faculty having represented to me, in the most serious terms, the necessity of abandoning all literary pursuits, if I wished to preserve my health and life; and knowing that, if I lived in Cambridge, the *genius loci* would not suffer me to abandon them; and having no place of residence in my diocese, nor a desire to procure a change of situation by a prostitution of principle; and being conscious, moreover, that the activity of my mind would not suffer me to dream away life without employment, I turned my attention to the improvement of land. I thought that the improvement of a man's fortune by cultivating the earth was the most useful and honourable mode of providing for a family; and I believed also that it would be the most likely mode

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of restoring my constitution. I have now been several years occupied as an improver of land and a planter of trees. My health is better now (1809) than it was, but the original disorder has never left me; and I have been so successful in these pursuits, that I now am under no uneasiness as to the provision which I thought it my duty to make for my children; my wishes on that point having been always moderate; and I feel such satisfaction at this moment in having, by my own exertions, wholly counteracted the effects which might otherwise have followed the neglect I have experienced from the court, or from its ministers, or from both, that I sincerely pity, and cordially forgive the littleness of mind which, in some one or other, has occasioned it.

In October, 1787, the public sustained a great and I an irreparable loss by the death of the Duke of Rutland in Ireland. I call it an irreparable loss, not so much from any service which he might and assuredly would have rendered me in the line of my profession, as from his being a man for whom I had a very great regard. I was not, at any time of life, studious of having a great many friends, nor ever stepped a yard out of my way to court the acquaintance of any man of rank; but I had, about that period, lost many of those who had been long and warmly attached to me, and I knew not how to form new connections, being very fastidious in the choice of those whom I took into my confidence, I was very much affected by this immature and unexpected death of the Duke; and on the 27th of the following November, on the opening of the session of parliament, I concluded a speech which I then made in praise of the measure which administration had taken with respect to Holland, in the following terms:—

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" Will the House permit me to indulge my private feelings, for a single moment, on a different subject? It is a subject which none of Your Lordships will ever hear of without regret, which I shall never think of without sorrow,—*the death of the Duke of Rutland!* The dead listen not to the commendations of the living, or, dearly as I loved him, I would not now have praised him!

" The world, My Lords, was not aware of his ability, was not conscious of half his worth; I had long and just experience of them both.

" In the conduct of public affairs, his judgment was equalled, I verily believe, by few men of his years; his probity and disinterestedness were, I am confident, exceeded by none. All the letters which I received from him respecting the public state of Ireland, and they were not a few, were written with strong good sense, and in nervous language. They all breathed the same liberal spirit, had all the same noble tendency—not that of aggrandizing Great Britain by the ruin of Ireland, not that of building up Ireland, at the expense of Great Britain—but that of promoting the united interests of both countries, as essential parts of one common empire.

" In private life, My Lords, I know that he had a strong sense of religion on his mind, and he showed it by imitating his illustrious father in the practice of one of its most characteristic principles—in being alive to every impulse of compassion. His family, his friends, his dependants, all his connections can witness for me the warmth and the sincerity of his personal attachments.

" From the time this young nobleman was admitted under me at Cambridge, I have loved him with the affection of a brother,

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and I have through life, on every occasion of difficulty, spoken to him (and I now thank God that I have done so) with the firmness and sincerity of a father. Your Lordships will judge, then, all private interest totally out of the question, how inexpressibly I have been, and am afflicted by his death.

"His memory, I trust, will be long, long revered by the people of this country, long held dear by the people of Ireland, and by myself, I feel, that it will continue to be held most dear as long as I live."

This tribute of my respect for the poor Duke, then unburied, (whose name was not so much as mentioned in the King's speech,) was very well received by the House; and a month afterwards the Prince of Wales, who had heard it, but to whom I had never been presented, came up to me in the House of Lords and thanked me for it, in a manner highly flattering to me, and honourable to his own feelings, as a friend to the Duke of Rutland.

The day after I had spoken this short eulogy, the Duchess of Rutland requested to see me; I had a melancholy interview with Her Grace, and at her desire sent her a copy of what I had said in the House of Lords. On the 30th of November she sent me the following note:—

"My dear Lord,

"I RETURN you many thanks for the paper containing, in so feeling a manner, your sentiments for the dear, dear person who is the subject of it.

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"Such an eulogium, from such a respectable character as yours, is most pleasing and satisfactory to me, especially as it is most true, and as I am sure he deserved all you so eloquently express, which appears to flow from your heart, and which will ever be engraven on mine with gratitude, as well as your kindness and friendship for his sake to,

"My dear Lord Bishop,

"Your faithful friend and affectionate humble servant,

"M. T. RUTLAND."

This was the beginning of a correspondence which I carried on with Her Grace for some months. I had always a good opinion of her understanding, and felt myself much interested in every thing respecting her happiness, and that of her children. When she reads this, I shall be no more: but she may know how much I respected her interest in another world as well as in this, by recollecting the substance of the letters which I wrote to her from Bath in March, 1788.

Though levee-conversations are but silly things in themselves, and the silliest of all possible things when repeated, yet I must mention what happened to myself at the King's levee, in November, 1787. I was standing next to a Venetian nobleman; the King was conversing with him about the republic of Venice, and hastily turning to me said, "There, now, you hear what he says of a republic." My answer was, "Sir, I look upon a republic to be one of the worst forms of government." The King gave me, as he thought, another blow about a republic. I answered, that I could not live under a republic. His Majesty still pursued

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the subject; I thought myself insulted, and firmly said, "Sir, I look upon the tyranny of any one man to be an intolerable evil, and upon the tyranny of an hundred to be an hundred times as bad." The King went off. His Majesty, I doubt not, had given credit to the calumnies which the court-insects had buzzed into his ears, of my being a favourer of republican principles, because I was known to be a supporter of revolution principles, and had a pleasure in letting me see what he thought of me. This was not quite fair in the King, especially as there is not a word in any of my writings in favour of a republic, and as I had desired Lord Shelburne, before I accepted the bishopric, to assure His Majesty of my supreme veneration for the constitution. If he thought that in giving such assurance I stooped to tell a lie for the sake of a bishopric, His Majesty formed an erroneous opinion of my principles. But the reign of George the Third was the triumph of Toryism. The Whigs had power for a moment, they quarrelled amongst themselves, and thereby lost the King's confidence, lost the people's confidence, and lost their power for ever; or, to speak more philosophically, there was neither *Whiggism* nor *Toryism* left; excess of riches, and excess of taxes, combined with excess of luxury, had introduced universal *Selfism*.

In April, 1788, I received the following letter from Calcutta: —

"My Lord,

"A DESIGN is now on foot for establishing a Protestant mission in Bengal and Bahar, and we take the liberty to inclose a copy of a proposal, which will briefly explain to Your Lordship

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the principal matters requisite to make a mission in this country successful.

" It cannot but affect with grief every good man, to see whole nations sitting in the darkness of Paganism which are subject to Protestant rulers. If the real miseries of such a state were known in England, it is not to be doubted but Christian zeal would soon devise a remedy in communicating the pure principles of the Gospel, which would reform both the disorders of society, and the most horrid depravity of manners that can be imagined. The work proposed is indeed difficult, and will require no small exertion to carry it into effect, but it is doubtless practicable. Should the Government and Company afford it a slender support, and shelter it from persecution, it would certainly flourish. The access to the country-languages grows easier every day. The invention of types gives the nation, in their own characters and languages, whatever intelligence the Government here finds necessary to communicate to the people at large. Missionaries would have many other advantages now, which have not been in former times, and there is great probability that they would be able to surmount the remaining obstacles, and to disseminate among the Heathen the principles of Christianity.

" We are conscious, we need not urge this matter with Your Lordship, who appears to be so well disposed to encourage the propagation of the Gospel in the East. Your Lordship's sentiments are before the public, (in the sermon before the Lords January 30th, 1784,) and what is therein so nobly proposed, will no doubt be ably defended and zealously supported. A copy of the inclosed is sent to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, as the first minister of the Established Church,

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will have it greatly in his power to procure for it the countenance of Majesty. We are certain Your Lordship will be happy to concur in any measure His Grace may propose for carrying the proposal into effect, and we humbly hope Your Lordship's fervent wishes in this and other ecclesiastical concerns will meet with the success they merit.

"We are, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most faithful and devoted Servants,

D. Brown, Minister of the Orphan House.

W. Chambers,
Cha. Grant,
Geo. Study.
} Of the Company's Civil Service."

I had been for many years, as Professor of Divinity, a chartered member of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts, but I had never subscribed to it, nor attended its meetings, from at first suspecting, and afterwards from knowing, (see Baron Masere's Canadian Freeholder, vol. iii. p. 424.) that its missionaries had been more busy in bringing over dissenters to episcopacy, than in converting Heathens to Christianity; but the establishment of a mission in the East Indies had my approbation, and I had ordained Mr. Brown a deacon, when the Bishop of London would not ordain him for want of a title. The Orphan School was just then established, by the subscription of the British Officers, for the education of the children of the soldiers by the women of the country, and I thought a clergyman might be as usefully engaged in such a school, (though it was not a legal title,) as in a village-curacy in England, and that such a school would be instrumental in extending the Eng-

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lish language among the natives. On the receipt of this letter, I considered how I might best promote its object, and I was soon persuaded that any efforts of mine would be unsuccessful, unless supported by administration; and, thinking that the most probable means of obtaining that support would be to let it originate with the minister, I sent both the letter and the proposal to Mr. Pitt with the following note:—

"Dear Sir, Great George-Street, April 9th, 1788.

"ALLOW me to put into your hands a packet which I received last week from India. I know not whether the subject mentioned in it has ever engaged the attention of Government or of the East-India Company; I think it highly worthy the attention of them both. But I presume not to say, whether it would be *practicable* to introduce a knowledge of the Christian religion amongst the natives of Indostan, nor whether the present is the fittest time for making the attempt. All I mean by troubling you on this occasion is to apprize you of what is in agitation, that, if you think the matter proper to be taken into consideration, you may have the credit of submitting it to the Council, or of supporting it in any other way which you may think more expedient.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Pitt took no notice of this communication; nor did the Archbishop of Canterbury ever speak to me on the subject, so that I never had an opportunity of concurring, which I should

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have been happy to have done, with His Grace in the prosecution of the design.

I do not, indeed, expect much success in propagating Christianity by missionaries from any part of Christendom, but I expect much from the extension of science and of commerce. The empire of Russia is emerging from its barbarism, and when it has acquired a stability and strength answering to its extent, it will enlarge its borders; and, casting an ambitious eye on Thibet, Japan, and China, may introduce, with its commerce, Christianity into those countries. India will be christianised by the government of Great Britain. Thus Christian monarchs, who aim at nothing but an increase of their temporal kingdoms, may become, by the providence of God, unconscious instruments in propagating the spiritual kingdom of his Son. It will not be easy for missionaries of any nation to make much impression on the Pagans of any country, because missionaries in general, instead of teaching a simple system of Christianity, have perplexed their hearers with unintelligible doctrines not expressly delivered in Scripture, but fabricated from the conceits and passions and prejudices of men. Christianity is a rational religion; the Romans, the Athenians, the Corinthians and others, were highly civilised, far advanced in the rational use of their intellectual faculties, and they all, at length, exchanged Paganism for Christianity; the same change will take place in other countries, as they become enlightened by the progress of European literature, and become capable of justly estimating the weight of historical evidence, on which the truth of Christianity must, as to them, depend.

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The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, established by a law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1780, transmitted to me a certificate of my being elected a Fellow of their Society on the 30th April, 1788. I have never had an opportunity of thanking the Academy for this unexpected honour, but I hereby assure them of my gratitude, and of my ardent wishes that (in comformity to the motto of their seal), *Sub libertate in æternum floreat Academia.*

I this year (1788) published a Charge on visiting my diocese; and composed, printed, and gave away to above a thousand persons whom I then confirmed, a small tract intitled, "An Address to young Persons after Confirmation." I was sensible, that I might have found a more valuable present than that which I then gave to the young persons of my diocese; but I flattered myself, that the circumstance of its being composed purposely for their benefit, by the bishop who confirmed them, would give it, in their estimation, a degree of merit it might not otherwise be intitled to.

During the latter end of the year 1788, and the beginning of the next, the understanding of the King was so much deranged, that both Houses of Parliament came to a resolution, That he was incapable of conducting the affairs of Government, and measures were taken to form a Regency. Mr. Fox, in the course of debate, had said—*that the Prince of Wales had a right to assume the Regency;* and Mr. Pitt had said—*that the Prince of Wales had no more right to assume the Regency than any other man in the kingdom had.* These opposite sentiments were supported by

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the partisans of each side with great heat and animosity. I cared nothing about the parties, but considered the subject at Cambridge as calmly as I could; and when the business was so far advanced, that a Bill for appointing the Prince of Wales Regent, with certain limitations in the exercise of his power, was brought into Parliament, I went to London, and made the following speech in the House of Lords. The beginning of the speech is here omitted, as it was merely a defence, (or rather an attempt at a defence,) of the independency of the bishops, and of the Scots Peers, which had been glanced at by the preceding speaker. I had not written down the speech, but I had arranged it in my thoughts, and am so confident of the principles maintained in it being perfectly constitutional, that I am desirous of giving it this chance of going down to posterity.

The Bishop of Landaff's Speech in the House of Lords on the Regency Bill, January 22. 1789.

" My Lords,

" I WILL not trouble Your Lordships with a long speech, and I know not, indeed, whether I ought to trouble you with any, for I have not the presumption to think that it will be in my power much to illustrate a subject, which, as to a main part of it, has already received so ample a discussion on a former day. But I trust the House will forgive me, if I say, that I feel a singular satisfaction in being allowed an opportunity of delivering my sentiments, plainly and publicly, on as great a constitutional question as has ever been agitated in this House since the Revolution.

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I will endeavour to do this with as much perspicuity, with as much brevity, and with as much impartiality as possible.

" I will mispend no portion of Your Lordships' time, in deploring the sad necessity for this day's debate. The calamity with which the nation is afflicted would have been a great one, had the monarch been a bad one; what it is now, may far more easily be conceived by you than expressed by me; for you would listen to me with impatience and disdain, if I undertook by reasoning to prove, what is felt by all, that it is one of the greatest which could have befallen us as a people. All ranks, all parties, all individuals, who have any knowledge of, any value for our constitution, agree in thinking that it is so; and all, I hope, unite in praying to Almighty God to relieve us from it, by restoring our afflicted Sovereign to perfect sanity of body and mind.

" But, My Lords, till it shall please God to do this, my opinion is—I humbly submit it to the house, with that firmness which becomes an impartial enquirer after truth; but with that diffidence also which becomes a man frequently conscious of his inability to attain it; and who on every difficult question, whether of policy, of philosophy, or of religion, is by nature and habit more disposed to doubt than to dogmatize—my clear opinion is, that in the very outset of this business, as soon as ever the two Houses of Parliament had, by solemn investigation, ascertained the single fact of the King's incapacity to govern the land, they ought to have empowered, (I beg, My Lords, it may be observed that I question not the competency of the two houses to empower,) His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the next in blood to the throne, by a commission under the great seal or otherwise, to take upon him, not, I think, the whole regal power,

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(though that would have been a more legal and constitutional mode than what has been followed,) but the whole legislative authority of the King. The *legislature* being, by this *one* act of *necessity*, completed, and the constitution restored to its vigour, by the Prince of Wales presiding in parliament as his father's commissioner, the next step should have been for the parliament, I mean the complete parliament, to have appointed a Regent whom they thought fit, and with or without limitations as they thought fit: for though I think it would have been highly improper for the legislature to have appointed any other person Regent, except the Prince of Wales, or to have appointed him Regent with any other check or control, except such as the constitution has thrown round the King himself in the exercise of his power, yet I admit in the fullest extent, that the legislature would have had both the power and the right to have done otherwise.

" A Regency being settled, not by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament, but by the whole legislature, the next step should have been to have made the best possible provision for the guardianship of the King's person, for the security of his private property, and for his re-assumption of all his public rights of sovereignty, as soon as ever it shall please God to put him in a condition to enjoy them.

" This mode of proceeding would, I humbly think, have been the least perplexed, and the most constitutional which could have been followed. Another mode has been adopted, and limitations of the Regent's power have been proposed, and as I can neither approve of the mode in which the limitations are proposed to be

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established, nor of the limitations themselves, I think it incumbent on me to state the reasons of my dissent.

" I begin, My Lords, with advancing a proposition which will be denied by none; the proposition is this, — that the monarchical power of a King of Great Britain is not an arbitrary but a fiduciary power; a trust committed by the community at large to one individual, to be exercised by him in obedience to the law of the land, and in certain cases according to his own discretion, but in subserviency to the public good. This proposition is one of the most fundamental principles of our constitution, and of every free constitution in the world. Its truth cannot be questioned, and, its truth being admitted, it *seems* to follow as a legitimate consequence, That whenever the individual to whom the community has committed this trust, shall become incapable of executing it, the trust itself ought to revert to the community at large, to be by them delegated, *pro tempore*, to some other person for the same common end, the promotion of the common welfare. It might otherwise happen that one man's misfortune might become the occasion of all men's ruin. But if, during the present incapacity of the King, the trust which has been given to him, not for his benefit, but for the benefit of those who gave it to him, does in fact revert to the community, then may the community delegate, till the King's recovery, the whole or any part of that trust to whomsoever they think fit.

" Upon this or some such general ground of reasoning, I presume the proposition has been founded which maintains, that the Prince of Wales has no more right to the Regency previous to the designation of the two Houses of Parliament, (which may

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be supposed to represent the community at large,) than any other person.

" My Lords, I conceive this reasoning is not true; it would have been true had the law been absolutely silent as to what was to become of the trust, when he to whom it had been given became incapable of executing it: but the law is not silent on this point. In one case in which the King becomes incapable of executing the trust committed to him, the law has clearly and positively said, No, the trust shall not revert to the community at large; the community perfectly understand the mischief which would attend such a reversion; they will have nothing to do with it; it shall go according to an established order of succession, and it shall go entire to the heir. This is the express declaration of law, when the King becomes, by death, incapable of exercising the trust committed to him; and the analogy of law speaks precisely the same language in the present case; it says, No, the trust shall not revert to the community, it shall go *pro tempore*, and it shall go entire, to the next in succession to the Crown; it shall go to the Prince of Wales, who is of an age to receive, and of a capacity to execute the trust for the public good.

" I say not, My Lords, that the Prince of Wales has a legal right to the trust; but I do most firmly contend that he has such a title to it, as cannot be set aside without violating the strongest and most irrefragable analogy of law: and in what such analogy differs from law itself, I submit to Your Lordships' mature deliberation.

" We have heard much on this occasion of the word *right*, but no one has condescended to define it. Now if, with *Grotius*, we define Right, as applied to things, to be a moral power of pos-

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sessing a thing in conformity to law, it is certain that the Prince of Wales can have no right to the regency; for the case has never occurred in our history, of a King being incapable of governing when an heir-apparent was of full age to govern, therefore there can be no unwritten law; and every body knows that there is no statute-law respecting the point; therefore there is no law, and where there is no law there can be no conformity to law, and where there is no conformity to law there can be no *right*. But if we define Right to be, a moral power of possessing a thing consistently with law; and if we admit that what is not forbidden by law is consistent with law, where is the law, written or unwritten, which forbids the Prince of Wales from exercising the executive government of the country during the incapacity of his father? It might, I think, be shown that the law forbids every other person in the kingdom from doing this, but I doubt whether it could be shown that it forbids the Prince of Wales. I beg pardon for troubling Your Lordships with these logical distinctions; yet on such distinctions depends clearness of ideas, on clearness of ideas depends closeness of argumentation, and on closeness of argumentation depends the investigation of truth. I will proceed to another argument.

" An old and venerable expositor of the common law instructs us to consider the King as composed of two bodies; one natural, subject to passions, and mortal; the other politic, subject to no passions, and immortal: an union of these two bodies constitutes a King; and he defines a demise of the crown to be a disunion or separation of the body politic of the King from his body natural. Admitting this definition of a demise to be a just one, and it is of too high authority for me at least to question it, I would

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argue thus: — Whenever there is a separation of the body politic of the King, from the body natural of the King, there is a demise of the crown. But during the present indisposition of the King, there is a separation of the body politic of the King, from the body natural of the King; therefore during the present indisposition of the King there is a demise of the crown.

" My Lords, I should be ashamed in this place or in any place, on this occasion or on any occasion, to produce an argument which I did not think was founded in truth, and I do think that this argument is founded in truth; but that I may deal, as I ought to do, candidly and ingenuously with Your Lordships, I will state to the House wherein the weakness of this argument (if weakness it has any) consists; its weakness then, if it has any, consists in this, — That the great common lawyer to whom I have alluded had not probably, I say probably, for I cannot speak with certainty, when he gave the definition of a demise of the crown which I have mentioned, any other cause of the separation of the King's body politic from his body natural in contemplation, except that which is occasioned by death. It rests with Your Lordships to determine whether the definition does not in *principle* extend further; I think it does.

" Thus if a King should become incapable of exercising the functions of a King, by being driven, for a time, from his throne, as happened to *Edward IV.*; or if he should become incapable by voluntarily abandoning the throne, as happened to *James II.*; or if he should be rendered incapable by the hand of God, as has happened to *George III.*, — in all these cases, and in cases such as these, there would be a *civil* demise of the crown. I know not whether the law-books acknowledge the terms *civil*

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demise, but I do know, that the ideas comprehended under these terms are as perfectly intelligible as those which are comprehended under the terms *natural demise*.

" I am not, My Lords, here to be told that the throne is not vacant; I know that it is full, and that the powers of him who fills it are not dead but dormant, not extinguished but suspended; and therefore it is that the demise I am contending for is not *natural* but *civil*, not *absolute* but *conditional*, not *permanent* but *temporary*.

" It is a maxim, we are told, in law — That the King never can become incompetent to the exercise of the kingly office. It is not my intention to question law-maxims, which are generally founded in great wisdom; but I must be allowed to say, that we are at this very moment denying in fact that integrity of kingship which we are establishing in words. For what is this politic capacity of the King which always remains entire, what but the capacity of executing the office of a King? It is that body politic of the King which is styled immortal. But in appointing a Regent, we certainly disunite the body politic of the King from his body natural, and we annex it for the time to the body natural of the Prince of Wales. Thus we in fact subvert the maxim of the law on which so much verbal stress has been laid. This *civil demise* of the Crown, which I am firmly of opinion has now unhappily taken place, differs not, I think, from a natural demise as to the *quantum* of power which ought to be transferred to the successor; but it differs from it as to the mode by which it is acquired, and as to the tenure by which it is held.

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"Let us look at this matter in another, but not in a less interesting point of view. Was the kingdom a private estate, (I am far, My Lords, from considering kingdoms as private estates, which Kings may use or misuse, as each man may his private property, but it may for the present argument be considered as such,) — was, then, the kingdom a private estate, into whose hands could you so properly commit the management of the estate, during an incapacitating indisposition of the father, as into the hands of his eldest son, who had attained his full majority, and on whom the estate with all its appurtenances was strictly entailed? You might irritate and provoke the temper of such a son, and drive him to a wild and giddy negligence of his concerns, by showing a distrust of him, in not suffering him to have the sole and full management of that, which he of all others was most interested in the managing well. You might degrade him in the estimation of the world, and debase him in his own opinion; but you would not do justice, believe me, My Lords, you would not do justice to those abilities which great occasions call forth, and exercise confirms; you would not cherish and invigorate those talents, which arduous situations and proper confidence never fail to produce in young and ingenuous minds.

"In a word, and to apply this, — Either the Prince of Wales is fit to be Regent of the kingdom with full regal power, during the present incapacity of the King, or he would not be fit to rule the land, were the King no more. But the law suffers us not to quibble and to dispute, and to introduce our partial distinctions, concerning the fitness or the unfitness of *a* Prince of Wales to rule the land when a King is no more; it tells us that

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he is fit. And the analogy of law tells us that he is fit to be Regent of the land with regal power, whilst the King continues to be incapable of exercising the functions of a King.

"In what I have hitherto advanced, Your Lordships will observe that I have paid no attention to the precedents which have been so studiously collected, and in the application of which we have been told, by the highest authority of the law, that the whole matter consists. I have omitted the consideration of precedents, not only from being persuaded that their importance was sufficiently weighed in a former debate, but from a persuasion also, that, though there are some shades of resemblance between the present situation of the country, and its situation during the infancy of its kings, yet there are such strong lines of discrimination as sufficiently distinguish the two cases. But that I may not appear to assert this without proving it, I will advert for a moment to the precedent of Henry VI. during the infancy of that monarch, inasmuch as a peculiar degree of importance has been given to that precedent. But before I point out the difference of the two cases, I cannot help observing, and I make the observation with a degree of astonishment, that this boasted precedent has not been followed in the only two points which were of consequence.

"What was done, My Lords, on the accession of Henry VI.? A commission was issued, by order of the privy council, under the Great Seal, appointing not any person, not any number of persons, but the next in blood to the King to convene a parliament, and to preside in the parliament when convened, in the name of and with the authority of the King. Has this been done now? No such thing. The parliament, when our King

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became incapable of governing, was convened; and, had the precedent of Henry VI. been followed, by order of the Council, or by order of the two Houses of Parliament, the Prince of Wales should have had a commission given him under the Great Seal, to preside in the parliament in the name of, and with the authority of the King.

"What was the next step which was taken in the reign of Henry VI.? A Regent was appointed by the authority of the *legislature*; that Regent was the Duke of Gloucester, the person next in blood to the King, except the Duke of Bedford, who was not then in the kingdom; and he was controlled in the exercise of his power by a permanent Council. Has this been done now? No such thing. The Prince of Wales, the person next in blood to the King, is to be appointed Regent, but he is *not* to be appointed by the *legislature*, and he is *not* to be controlled by a Council.

"Could I have been of opinion, My Lords, that the proceedings during the infancy of Henry VI. ought to have been followed by the nation in the reign of George III., I would have placed my foot on the precedent I have been considering, as on a firm basis; I would have looked my country in the face, and boldly said,—The Prince of Wales is now restrained by a Council, because our ancestors restrained by such a Council, the Regent, in the reign of Henry VI. This would have been a manly proceeding; and a strict conformity to the precedent might have been a degree of justification for having followed it. But to follow precedents, without a reference to the times and circumstances under which they were made, is to follow blind guides, which will frequently lead us into error; and I have no difficulty in saying, that we

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ought not *now* to follow the precedent established in the reign of Henry VI.

"I admit that there is a similarity, or rather an identity, as to the fact of the incapacity for government in the two Kings, but in nothing else is there the least similitude. Henry VI. was an infant unknown to his subjects; — George III. is a monarch endeared to his subjects by a long reign. Henry VI. was born in a barbarous age; so far at least barbarous, that the constitution was unknown, and the succession unsettled; — George III. lives in an enlightened age, when our constitution is understood by almost every man we meet, and when no doubt remains respecting the succession to the Crown. Henry VI. was surrounded by ambitious nobles, whose adherents were so numerous, as to enable them to grapple with the King himself for the possession of the Crown; — George III. is surrounded by nobles, whose adherents are not so numerous as to render them dangerous, not one of whom has the slightest pretensions to the Crown, and all of whom (My Lords, I know I speak truth) would sacrifice their lives and fortunes to keep the Crown on the head of him who wears it.

"But yet there is another distinction between the two cases, and it is a distinction of the utmost moment. I speak on this point with great diffidence. I oppose the avowed and declared sentiments of two noble Lords now in my eye, (Camden and Thurlow,) whose *legal* abilities are above my praise, and of whose discriminating faculties, on all subjects, I have a good opinion. I beg pardon of these great luminaries of the law beforehand. I am almost certain that I must be in an error, though I cannot see it.

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"They have contended, then, that there is *no* difference as to the present argument between an *Heir Presumptive to Henry VI.* and an *Heir Apparent to George III.*; and I take the liberty to contend, that the difference in this case, and I consider no other, between an Heir Presumptive and an Heir Apparent, is *obvious* and *immense.* Henry VI., an infant of nine months or of nine years old, for it makes no difference as to the argument, (inasmuch as what was done respecting a Regency in the first year of his reign, was done for several years afterwards,) and the Heir Presumptive of Henry VI. stand on one part:—On the other, we are to consider George III., a King beyond the middle age, and the Heir Apparent, a man of twenty-seven. Now, My Lords, I will assume but this one *postulatum*, which, in all fairness of logical argumentation, cannot be denied me—that each of these four personages lives to the ordinary period of human life; then it is evident that the Heir Presumptive of Henry VI. never can, by fair means, obtain the Crown; and that the Heir Apparent of George III. never can, by fair means, miss the Crown; and the difference between a certainty of never possessing, and a certainty of never failing to possess the Crown, is, in my humble opinion, *obvious* and *immense.* It is a difference, too, so important in its nature and consequences, as to render the restrictions of the Regent's power, in the person of the Heir Presumptive of Henry VI., perfectly inapplicable to the Regency of the Heir Apparent of George III. I have done with the precedents, and will proceed to the consideration of the restrictions which are proposed.

"It is said, then, that in the establishment of a Regency, no more power ought to be given to the Regent, than what is sufficient to enable him to carry on the executive government of the

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country with effect, for the public good. My Lords, I admit this proposition in its full extent; and it is on the truth of this proposition that I ground my argument for there being *no* restrictions put upon the Regent. All the regal power is necessary to enable him to carry on the government for the public good. What! is it asserted or insinuated, that the King himself has an atom more of regal power belonging to him by the constitution of the country, than what is sufficient to enable him to carry on the government of the country with effect, for the public good? I contend that he has no such power; such a power would be a power to do wrong, and the King has no moral power to do wrong; it would be that *injuriæ licentia*, which is the basis of tyranny in every kingdom of the world; it is that which the despots of the continent claim and exercise; which our Monarch, thank God! we are certain, would not exercise, could he claim it, but which *our constitution, thank God! does not suffer him to claim.*

"But it is objected—if you give the whole regal power to the Regent, you make him not a Regent, but a King; you dethrone the Monarch, and place the crown of George III. on the head of George IV. These, My Lords, are high-sounding words; but I have not been accustomed to pay attention to words, beyond the sense they contain, and I do not see that these contain any. The whole regal power is requisite for the Regent, because it is requisite for the common good, that the whole regal power should have an existence somewhere. But though you give the Regent the whole regal power, you will not make him a King; he will differ essentially from a King in this,—that he exercises his power in the name of another. Every public instrument

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which he sets his hand to, announces to every man in the kingdom, that the Crown still rests on the head of his father. He will differ, too, from a King in another point, in what is the most essential point of royalty, — in permanency of possession.

" But it is contended in particular, that the power of creating Peers should not be given to the Regent. What! is this high prerogative, then, useless or pernicious to the state? No, it will be said, it is a prerogative productive of public good, when exercised by a King; but productive of public mischief, when exercised by a Regent. My Lords, there is no manner of foundation for this reasoning, when the Regent is the Heir Apparent. There might be some foundation for it, was the Queen the Regent; was the Duke of York the Regent; and much more, was any other person the Regent; because every other person in the kingdom, except the Heir Apparent, might be supposed to have a private interest, diverse from, and opposite to the public good. Peers might be made in attention to this private interest, but this cannot be supposed concerning *a* Prince of Wales. To say that *a* Prince of Wales can have any interest in view distinct from the public interest, is to say that he is absolutely unfit for the government of the country, —an assertion not more reprobated by the law, than, without meaning any flattery to His Royal Highness, I believe it to be false in fact.

" But, it has been said, if the Prince of Wales is allowed the power of making peers, he may infringe the rights of the reigning monarch, and the King, on his return to his parliament, may find this House filled with the friends of the Prince of Wales, and with the enemies of the reigning Sovereign. Good God! My Lords, is it possible that so uncandid and illiberal a suspicion —

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I wish to avoid asperity of language — a suspicion so ill founded and so injurious to the characters of both the high personages alluded to, should ever have entered into the heart of any man in Great Britain? The virtues of the reigning Monarch have left him no enemies in any part of his dominions, and it is but common justice to the Prince of Wales, that justice which every one of Your Lordships would wish in similar circumstances to be done to his own son, to place this confidence in the Prince of Wales, that he will have no friends but the friends of his family and of the constitution. And is it not to fix an opprobrious, and, we all know, an undeserved stigma on the character of the King, to say, that on his recovery he will be sorry to meet in this House, or in any place, the friends of his family and of the constitution?

" A distinction, My Lords, has of late years arisen in this kingdom which I much dislike; it is a distinction not founded in nature, it is pregnant with mischief, and may bring forth civil discord; a distinction into *King's friends*, and *Prince's friends*. I learned at school that friendship subsists not *nisi inter pares*; and my station in society is far too humble to permit me to affect a parity with kings and princes. I have no ambition to be ranked among the King's friends, none to be ranked among the Prince of Wales's friends: but I have an ambition, I have had it through life, and I shall carry it to my grave with me,—it is an ambition to be ranked among the friends of the whole house of Brunswick: and why, My Lords? not from any private regard, but because the house of Brunswick is a friend to the civil and religious liberties of mankind; because, if we may augur concerning the future from an experience of the past, *the house of*

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Brunswick will ever continue to be friends to the constitution of the country, as defined and established at the Revolution.

"It is proposed to confide to the Prince of Wales the high prerogative of declaring war and making peace; of entering into foreign treaties which bind the nation, and must bind the King himself on his recovery; of directing the operations of the standing army; of appointing to all offices, (the household excepted,) civil and military. These and other prerogatives of a similar nature, on a due and discreet use of which every thing that is dear to us as men and citizens depends, are to be intrusted (and the trust we have no reason to think will be misplaced) to the Prince of Wales. Having given so much, where is the wisdom of retaining the rest? where is the wisdom of depriving the Regent of the ability of rewarding merit, and of enabling *his* ministers to strengthen themselves in *administration*, by exactly the same means whereby their political competitors will have strengthened themselves in *opposition?* My Lords, there may be public grounds for this restriction; and, considering the characters of those who have been concerned in framing it, it would be uncandid in me to say there *are* none, but I must profess that I *see* none.

"But were the public grounds for this limitation more obvious and more extensive than any person will assert them to be, still I would not vote either for the limitation itself, or for the mode of establishing it. No, My Lords, never shall it be said of me that I concurred in violating the constitution of my country, by allowing to the two Houses of Parliament, either the right of legislating, or of suspending, though but for an hour, any portion of the royal prerogative. The established prerogative of the

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Crown is a part of the common law of the land, and I think that the two Houses of Parliament have no more right to suspend the law than the King has. The constitution is violated, let the suspension be made by any power short of that which made the law. If the two Houses can suspend indefinitely, they may abolish perpetually. If they can abolish, as useless to the common safety, one prerogative, why not another; why not all?—Why may they not come to a resolution, that all the prerogatives of the Crown, and that the King himself, are as useless to the public good, as this House was formerly declared to be by the other!

"I know, My Lords, it has been said by my enemies, that I am a friend to republican principles, and I question not they will be greedy in embracing this opportunity of saying, that I am a friend to prerogative principles. *I have hitherto disdained, and I shall continue to disdain, giving a reply to my calumniators of any kind; but I feel it an happiness, and I think it an honour to declare to this numerous assembly of Your Lordships, that I am no friend to republican principles, none to prerogative principles, none to aristocratic principles, but a warm, zealous, and determined friend to that equilibrium of the three powers, on the preservation of which depends the conservation of the finest constitution (not perfect, perhaps, either with respect to its civil or ecclesiastical part, for what human thing is perfect?), but yet the finest civil constitution that ever blessed mankind on the surface of the globe.* For the preservation of this constitution I would lay down my life: the expression is a strong one, but the occasion justifies it; for in doing so, I should think that I fulfilled the most important duty of a man and of a citizen, that I per-

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formed a service acceptable to the Supreme Being, in contributing to continue to millions yet unborn the blessing of the British constitution. With these sentiments concerning the excellence, and with the apprehensions which I now entertain of the violation of the constitution, Your Lordships will, I trust, forgive the warmth and the firmness with which I speak.

" I cannot sit down without adverting to an important point, the arrangement of the household. If we were to follow the cool conclusions of dispassionate reasoning, the most proper mode of proceeding, whether we respect the circumstances of the country or the state of the civil list itself, would be to extinguish that part of the household which is useless to the King in his present unhappy circumstances, and to save the expense of its establishment. But as it often happens in private life, that our feelings are in opposition to our judgment, so has it happened to myself on this occasion. I do feel a reluctance to the abolishing any part of the royal household whilst there remains any hope of the King's recovery. I wish His Majesty on his recovery to feel, not the shadowy comfort of seeing the same faces about his person, but the solid comfort of knowing, that his subjects had not, out of a selfish regard for themselves, seized the opportunity of his misfortune to tarnish the splendor, and to diminish the dignity of royalty.

" But though I wish not the household to be diminished, and though it is useless, as to the greatest part of it, to the King, I would not have it continue useless to the public; it ought to be transferred to the Regent. The *phaleræ* of royalty are calculated, not merely to captivate the vulgar, but to render the person of the King venerable in the eyes of all, that his office may thereby

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be executed with greater advantage to the public. Subordination is necessary to the very existence of civil society, and whatever has a tendency to preserve it, in a due degree, is a public good. For the same reason that the state is at the expense of adorning the person and situation of the Monarch by a splendid household, it ought to adorn the person and situation of the Regent. It is not to swell the vanity of either the King or the Regent that this is done, but to render the chief magistrate respectable in the contemplation of those over whom his magistracy extends.

"As to the influence which attends the household, it ought not, perhaps, to be permitted to exist at all; but whilst it does in fact exist, it certainly ought not to be dissevered from the executive government. It is a great doubt with me whether *the influence of the Crown be not too great; but I have no doubt in saying, that the influence ought not to subsist any where but in the Crown.* But I will not dwell upon this, for I agree with the noble Lord who opened the debate, that we ought not to refer to the characters of the great personages to whom we have occasion to allude; if this were allowable I would say, that I think so well of the Queen, as to be under no manner of apprehension that she will ever put herself at the head of a party in opposition to the government of her son.

"My Lords, I have delivered the real sentiments of my heart, without any respect to party; I am not a party man; this is not a question of party, nor ought it to be considered as such. The question is not whether this or that man shall be the minister of the country. If that had been the question, I would have said to every *independent* member of this House, (and therefore, for the credit of human nature, and for the dignity of the

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peerage, I would have supposed that I addressed myself to every *individual* in it,) in the language of ancient Rome,— *Non agitur de publico commodo, sed utrum Cæsar an Pompeius possideat rempublicam. Quid tibi M. Cato cum ista contentione?*

"No, My Lords, the question is, in what manner shall we maintain unviolated the principles of the constitution, protect the dormant rights of the reigning Monarch, do justice to the legal claims, to the reasonable expectations at least of the Heir Apparent, provide for the domestic tranquillity, confirm and extend the foreign importance of the kingdom. This is the complex and important question which solicits your decision: I, for one, as a member of this House, and as a bishop of this realm, lay my hand upon my heart, and say in the most solemn manner, That, in my judgment, we shall best promote these great ends by appointing His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Heir Apparent to the Crown, Regent, with full regal power.

"However different many of Your Lordships may be from me in this sentiment, I will conclude with a wish, in which I am certain of being joined by all who hear me, and was the Heir Apparent himself in the House, I am confident that his piety as a son, that his duty as a subject, (of both of which he has on this trying occasion given such exemplary proof,) would make him the first to unite with me in a wish, an hope, a prayer, that a speedy and *perfect* restoration of the King's health may put an early period to the Regency of his son."

I had great confidence in the justness of the reasoning of this speech, from observing that the Chancellor, in his reply, paid me, in his coarse way, a reluctant compliment in saying,

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"The Bishop has given us his advice, and I know not but that something may be made on't." And from being told by the Duke of Portland, on the same night in which I spoke, "that it was looked upon, by at least one side of the House, as the best which had been produced in either House of Parliament."

The Chancellor, in his reply, boldly asserted that he perfectly well remembered the passage I had quoted from *Grotius*, and that it solely respected natural, but was inapplicable to civil rights. Lord Loughborough, the first time I saw him after the debate, assured me, that before he went to sleep that night he had looked into *Grotius*, and was astonished to find that the Chancellor, in contradicting me, had presumed on the ignorance of the House, and that my quotation was perfectly correct.—What miserable shifts do great men submit to in supporting their parties! The Chancellor Thurlow was an able and upright judge, but as the Speaker of the House of Lords he was domineering and insincere. It was said of him, that in the Cabinet he opposed every thing, proposed nothing, and was ready to support any thing. I remember Lord Camden's saying to me one night, when the Chancellor was speaking contrary, as I thought, to his own conviction, "There now, I could not do that; he is supporting what he does not believe a word of."

Lord Cathcart had attempted to answer my speech, on the day after I had spoken it, and he thought fit to send me the following letter:—

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" My Lord, Clifford-street, January 27. 1789.

" In the course of what I endeavoured to state to the House last night, I wished to take some notice of parts of Your Lordship's speech. I conceived that the debate was adjourned from the preceding day, and that therefore, in point of order, I had a right so to do. The arrangement and perspicuity of Your Lordship's argument tempted me to wish to follow it as far as I was able, and by the boldness of that attempt to attract the attention of the Lords to what I had to offer to the House on those subjects.

" To one not in the habit of speaking in public, it requires a considerable exertion to address the House of Lords; the Lords were coming in and taking their places, and not having had any previous design of speaking at that particular period of the debate, I confess I soon found myself under the influence of the most overcoming embarrassment, to which I hope Your Lordship will have the goodness to attribute the clumsy manner in which, I fear, I made over frequent allusions to Your Lordship's speech, without being able sufficiently to mark the respect with which I wished these allusions to be accompanied. This apprehension has induced me to trouble Your Lordship with this letter.

" I beg leave to assure you, My Lord, that I have not forgot the obligation which the Peers of Scotland owe to Your Lordship, for the part you had the goodness to take in our behalf, on a very interesting question which materially affected the rights of the Peers of Scotland; but I beg leave also to assure Your Lordship, that that support is by no means the sole foundation

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of that respect and regard, with which I have the honour to be, My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

" CATHCART."

I had not the least acquaintance with Lord Cathcart, and returned by his messenger the following answer: —

" My Lord,

" I AM sorry Your Lordship has had the trouble of writing to me on the subject of what passed yesterday in the House of Lords. The arguments I used on a former day are entirely at Your Lordship's service, and at that of every other noble Lord, to be commented upon at any time, and in any manner which may be thought fit; if they will not bear the test of every examination, so far from wishing them to influence the judgment of other men, they shall not continue to influence my own. As to what Your Lordship seemed to apprehend, my having spoken disrespectfully of the Peers of Scotland, I do beg leave to assure Your Lordship, that you had totally misconceived my meaning on the occasion; there is not a man in England who thinks more respectfully of the talents and spirit of the Scots Peers than I do.

" Permit me the liberty of saying, that I take nothing amiss that fell from Your Lordship yesterday; my temper is neither irascible nor revengeful; in my own mind I honourably acquitted Your Lordship, even at the time you were speaking, of any design to misrepresent me, and I am convinced that, in doing

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so, I did no more than justice to Your Lordship's honour and character.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

The following is a letter to the Duke of Grafton, in answer to one in which he had politely hinted at my having voted in opposition to the minister. I was then happy, and have since then continued to be so, in the Duke of Grafton's friendship; I thought it therefore proper to let him know at once the nature of our connection as to public matters.

" My dear Lord Duke, Great George-st. Jan. 12. 1789.

" YOUR Grace's kind invitation to Euston followed me to this place. Mrs. Watson and my family will be in town on Thursday, so that it will be impossible for me to have the pleasure of waiting upon you at Euston.

" As to politics, I have but one rule for my public conduct; to vote according to the best of my judgment upon every occasion, and, when I cannot form a judgment, not to vote at all. It will always be a sensible mortification to me to differ from Your Grace, but I trust we neither of us are of a temper to let a difference on public questions break in upon the comforts of private attachments.

" I think I have been miserably neglected by Mr. Pitt, and I feel the indignity as I ought; but this feeling would not have hindered me from supporting him on the present occasion, had I approved his measures.

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"I know perfectly well the personal indiscretion of pretending to think for myself on political subjects, and how much a man who does so is traduced, ridiculed, and contemned by all parties; but I cannot do otherwise.

"To be overlooked by Mr. Pitt, or by any other minister, for want of character or ability in my profession, would cover me with shame; it would be a silly affectation in me to say, that I feel any uneasiness on that account, when I compare myself with the rest of my brethren; but to be overlooked for want of political pliancy, is a circumstance I need not blush to own, and let the consequence be what it may, I shall never lament it.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

The restoration of the King's health soon followed. It was the artifice of the minister to represent all those who had opposed *his* measures, as enemies to the King; and the Queen lost, in the opinion of many, the character which she had hitherto maintained in the country, by falling in with the designs of the minister. She imprudently distinguished by different degrees of courtesy on the one hand, and by meditated affronts on the other, those who had voted with, and those who had voted against the minister, insomuch that the Duke of Northumberland one day said to me, "So, My Lord, you and I also are become traitors."

She received me at the drawing-room, which was held on the King's recovery, with a degree of coldness, which would have appeared to herself ridiculous and ill placed could she have imagined how little a mind such as mine regarded, in its honour-

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able proceedings, the displeasure of a woman, though that woman happened to be a Queen.

The Prince of Wales, who was standing near her, then asked me to dine with him, and on my making some objection to dining at Carlton House, he turned to Sir Thomas Dundas, and desired him to give us a dinner, at his house, on the following Saturday. Before we sat down to dinner on that day, the Prince took me aside, explained to me the principle on which he had acted during the whole of the King's illness, and spoke to me, with an afflicted feeling, of the manner in which the Queen had treated himself. I must do him the justice to say, that he spoke, in this conference, in as sensible a manner as could possibly have been expected from an heir apparent to the throne, and from a son of the best principles towards both his parents. I advised him to persevere in dutifully bearing with his mother's ill humour, till time and her own good sense should disentangle her from the web which ministerial cunning had thrown around her.

Having thought well of the Queen, I was willing to attribute her conduct, during the agitation of the Regency question, to her apprehensions of the King's safety, to the misrepresentations of the King's minister, to any thing rather than to a fondness for power.

Before we rose from table at Sir Thomas Dundas's, where the Duke of York and a large company were assembled, the conversation turning on parties, I happened to say that I was sick of parties, and should retire from all public concerns—"No," said

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the Prince, "and mind who it is that tells you so, you shall never retire; a man of your talents shall never be lost to the public." — I have now lived many years in retirement, and, in my seventy-fifth year, I feel no wish to live otherwise.

On occasion of the duel between the Duke of York and Colonel Lenox, I find that I wrote the following note to Lord Rawdon, who had been the Duke's second, and of whose high honour and eminent talents I always entertained the best opinion: —

"My dear Lord, Cambridge, May 28. 1789.

"I KNOW you will forgive the liberty I take in requesting you to present, in the most respectful manner, to the Duke of York my warmest congratulations on a late event.

"As a Christian bishop I cannot approve of any man's exposing his life on such an occasion. As a citizen I must think that the life of one so near to the Crown ought not to be hazarded like the life of an ordinary man; but as a friend to the House of Brunswick, I cannot but rejoice in the personal safety, and in the personal gallantry too, of so distinguished a branch of it.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

The dismission of the Duke of Queensberry and Lord Lothian from their offices, and the treatment which Lord Rodney and others received on account of their having voted in the business of the Regency against the minister, finished Mr. Pitt's character, for public consistency, with me. I had believed him to have been as sincere as I was in wishing for the independency of par-

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liament, but I now perceived that he wished to have it as subservient to his own views as possible, and cared little for the constitution of the country, whilst he preserved his own power, verifying the observation of *Helvetius*,—"*L'amour de l'homme pour le pouvoir est tel qu'en Angleterre même il n'est presque point de ministre qui ne voulût revêtir son Prince du pouvoir arbitraire. L'ivresse d'une grand place fait oublier au ministre qu' accable lui même sous le poids du pouvoir qu'il édifie, lui et sa posterité en seront peutêtre les premières victimes.*"

Numberless addresses were presented to the King and Queen, on the recovery of His Majesty; I drew up the two following, and sent them to be signed by the clergy of my diocese, before they were presented: —

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, the Bishop, Archdeacon and Chapter, and Clergy, of the diocese of Landaff, Your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, humbly, and with hearty thanksgivings to Almighty God, beg leave to congratulate Your Majesty on the recovery which He, in his mercy, hath vouchsafed to you from a long and singularly afflicting indisposition. We are persuaded, that no congratulations, on any occasion, were ever offered to any of Your Majesty's predecessors with more cordial sincerity and more perfect unanimity than those will be which a free, a loyal, and an affectionate people will present to Your Majesty, on this event. It is an event highly interesting to every branch of Your Majesty's family, and to every friend of the House of Brunswick. The happiness of men, who have the misfortune to live under despotic governments, depends

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more on the good disposition of their ruler, than on the nature of their civil constitution; whilst that of men, who live under free governments, is more dependent on the principles of their constitution, than on the virtues of their Prince. How happy, then, may our situation justly be esteemed! We certainly live under the best form of civil government that was ever established in the world; and we have the comfort of knowing, that it is administered by a King whose virtues, public and private, would render even despotism itself not destructive of the happiness of human kind.

"May God, in his good providence, long continue to us the blessing of Your Majesty's life and health, and preserve, to our latest posterity, the blessing of the British constitution."

I am so little conversant with the manners of a court, that I know not whether to refer the following letter to the order of the King, or to the spontaneous courtesy of the Secretary of State from whom I received it.

"My Lord, Whitehall, 13th April, 1789.

"I HAVE this day had the honour of presenting to the King the Address of the Archdeacon and Chapter, and Clergy of the diocese of Landaff, which Your Lordship transmitted to me, congratulating His Majesty on the happy re-establishment of his health; and I have the satisfaction of informing you that His Majesty was pleased to receive the same in the most gracious manner.

"I have the honor to be, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"SYDNEY."

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Address to the Queen.

" Most Gracious Queen,

" We the Bishop, Archdeacon and Chapter, and Clergy of the diocese of Landaff, entreat Your Majesty graciously to accept our congratulations on the King's recovery from his late indisposition; they are tendered to Your Majesty with the utmost truth.

" The comforts of domestic life are natural and sincere; all persons in all ranks equally feel the importance of possessing them, are equally affected by their interruption or loss. We firmly believe that every family in the kingdom sympathized with Your Majesty in your late distress, and that they all participate in your present felicity.

" Sensible of the influence of Royal example, we have always thought that Your Majesty was entitled to the thanks of the kingdom for the proofs you have uniformly given, during a long residence amongst us, of the sincerity of your piety, of the amiableness and purity of your manners as a Queen, as a wife, and as a mother. But if Your Majesty could have claimed our regard on no other account, the tenderness and concern you have shown for a beloved Monarch during his late unhappy situation, would have secured to you the grateful attachment of a loyal people.

" We observed, in the deliberations of parliament, a great diversity of opinion as to the most *constitutional mode* of protecting the Rights of the Sovereign during the continuance of his indisposition; but we observed no diversity whatever as to the *necessity* of protecting them in the most effectual manner. This

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circumstance cannot fail of giving solid satisfaction to Your Majesty; for next to the consolation of believing that, in his recovery, he has been the especial object of God's mercy, must be that of knowing that, during his illness, he was the peculiar object of his people's love; that he reigns over a free, a great, and an enlightened nation, not more by the laws of the land than by the wishes of his people."

The first part of this last paragraph, I knew, would be disagreeable to the Queen, as it contradicted the principle she wished to be generally believed, and the truth of which could alone justify her conduct — that the opposition to the minister was an opposition to the King. Now as there was not a word of disaffection to the King, in any of the debates in either House of Parliament, during the transaction of the Regency, and (as I verily believe) the hearts of the opposition were as warm with the King, and warmer with the constitution, than those of their competitors, I thought fit to say what was, in my judgment, the plain truth.

About this time, hearing that my old friend (Preston), then Bishop of Fernes, was dangerously ill in Ireland, I felt my regard for him (which had been lessened by his acceptance of a bishoprick) returning with all its force, and I wrote the following letter to him: —

"My dear Lord, Cambridge, April 6. 1789.

"You have never written to me since you went to Ireland; I know nothing of you except by report. I cannot however

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suffer an ardent friendship, of many years standing, to cool so suddenly, as not to be greatly interested in what I hear of you, and they tell me that you are ill, and dangerously ill. If the fact is so, and you think that my consolation can be of use to you, command me in any way and to any extent you judge fit. Some twenty years ago you were then, I believe, at Vienna; I preferred your interest to my own, in soliciting for you the Professorship of Modern History, and you wrote me word, that you should die contented in having met with a true friend; that friend is still what he was then, and though both our situations are mended, yet the principle of regard remains the same.

"I am, &c.

"I ought not to give you advice, for you have not consulted me; and if you had, our feelings may be different, but nothing should induce me to imbitter the rest of my life in the squabbles of a college."

It was then reported that Preston was to have been translated to an English bishopric, and to have been made Master of Trinity College.

The tract which I had last year given to the young persons of my diocese was this year published, and a large edition was soon sold. I have been told that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, if I would have given them the tract, intended to have printed an edition of ten thousand copies, and to have distributed it *gratis*; and my information was probably correct, for Bishop Barrington had before asked me to let the Society

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have the tract, but it was then sold to my bookseller. If I had, in due time, known the intention of the Society respecting this little publication, no price should have purchased it; but I did not think so highly of it, as to suppose it merited the distinction intended for it. A year or two afterwards the Society applied to me for leave to print a part of it; this I refused, (though I gave them leave to print the whole, having settled the matter with my bookseller,) not believing that there was a word wrong in any part of it. I understood that Bishop Horseley objected to some expressions in it, and, after a great deal of absurd violence on his part, prevailed upon the Society not to agree to the printing of the whole of it. What it was that the Bishop objected to I thought it beneath me to enquire, either directly or indirectly. His political principles were to me detestable, and his theology too dogmatical, though he was certainly a man of talents.

About ten years after the publication of this tract, the following passage in it was animadverted upon by a person wholly unknown to me (Mr. Ashdown of Canterbury), in two short letters, addressed to the Bishop of Landaff: — "The Holy Spirit we KNOW gave his assistance in an extraordinary manner to the first preachers of the Gospel, and they were sure of his *dwelling in them*, by the power of speaking with new tongues, and by the other gifts which he distributed to them. We THINK we have the authority of Scripture for saying that God still continues to *work in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure;* to give his *Holy Spirit to them that ask him;* but the manner in which the Holy Spirit gives his assistance to faithful and pious persons is not attended with any certain signs of its being given; it is secret

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and unknown; you cannot distinguish the working, by which he *helpeth your infirmities*, from the ordinary operations of your own minds." Mr. Ashdown contends that the distinction of ordinary and extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit is not founded in Scripture; and that, if it should be admitted to be founded in Scripture, yet that both operations ceased with the apostolic age. I made no reply to Mr. Ashdown's pamphlet, for my judgment was not decided on the point. An attentive reader might have inferred my indecision from adverting to the different import of the words we *know*, and we *think*. I am not ashamed to own, that I give a greater degree of assent to the doctrine of the extraordinary operation of the Spirit in the age of the Apostles, than I do to that of his immediate influence, either by illumination or sanctification, in succeeding ages. Notwithstanding this confession, I am not prepared to say, that the latter is an unscriptural doctrine; future investigation may clear up this point, and God, I trust, will pardon me an indecision of judgment proceeding from an inability of comprehension. If it shall ever be shown that the doctrine of the *ordinary* operation of the Holy Ghost is not a Scripture doctrine, Methodism, Quakerism, and every degree of enthusiasm will be radically extinguished in the Christian church; men, no longer believing that God does that by more means which may be done by fewer, will wholly rely for religious *instruction*, consequent *conversion*, and subsequent *salvation*, on his *Word*. — *Cum audiamus, Deum omnem ut convertendi homines ita sanctificandi rationem sic adstrinxisse verbo suo, ut per id solum, tanquam per instrumentum et medium opus, utrumque perageretur; hâc lege et institutione divina omnis de immediata spiritus operatione*

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cogitatio plane prosternitur. — Doederlein, Institut. Theol. vol. ii. p. 646.

Before I left town this year, I called upon the Duchess of Rutland; we had some conversation on politics; she was warm in support of a party, and that party was Mr. Pitt's; I told her that I would not attach myself to any party; she replied, with prophetic verity, you will then die a martyr to both parties. I sent Her Grace the subjoined letter, the day I went out of London:—

"Dear Lady Duchess, London, April 3. 1789.

"I WILL not leave town without saying a word to you on the subject of our last conversation; for there is no person for whom I have a greater regard, or whose good opinion I more esteem. I am vexed when I see you forming an improper judgment on any occasion, and especially if my conduct is the object of your consideration. I referred you to my publications for an explication of my principles, but I will spare you the trouble of looking into the book I had the honour to send you last year, by making a few extracts from it.

"P. 120. — 'He who from apprehension or expectation, from gratitude or resentment, from any worldly motive, speaks or acts contrary to his decided judgment, in supporting or in opposing any particular system of politics, is guilty of a great sin, the sad consequences of which no worldly interest can compensate.

"P. 121. — 'Probity is an uniform principle; it cannot be put on in our private closet and put off in the Council Chamber or the Senate; and it is no inconsiderable part of probity, to speak

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with boldness, and to act with firmness according to the dictates of conscience.

" P. 410.—' If there be any one measure more likely than another to preserve pure and unblemished the honour of the Crown, I verily believe it to be the establishing, as much as possible, the independency of the several members of both Houses of Parliament.'

" My conduct has been correspondent to these principles. I told the Duke of Rutland, I told Mr. Pitt, and I have told every other great man with whom I have had connexions, that I would do so; that in great political questions I would not follow the lead of any party, but the dictates of my own judgment. Four great questions have been agitated during Mr. Pitt's administration; in two I have supported him, and in two I have opposed him. I supported Mr. Pitt's Irish Propositions, because I thought them useful both to England and Ireland: I opposed his Commercial Treaty with France, because I thought the French were not sincere, and that the treaty would do us no good. I gave in parliament the most explicit approbation to his Treaty with Holland, and said that he deserved the thanks of his country for having made it, because I thought it, and still think it, the best measure of his administration: I opposed him on the present occasion, because I thought he was injuring the principles of the constitution. I perfectly knew that it would have been for my interest to have given an insincere approbation of the measures I opposed; but my spirit disdained the duplicity, and my principles abhorred it.

" I have followed a similar conduct in private life, and I beg you to consider, whether you have not had an instance of it in

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your own family. You are sensible that I never paid your poor Duke any particular attention, except when I could serve him; and yet I know the effect of such attentions in conciliating a great man's patronage and regard. I often thwarted his propensities, by giving him advice, which I knew would disgust him; and yet I was well aware of the consequences of such disgust. Lord Mansfield requested me to do what I could to stop him in his career of play, because, he said, he would soon become a beggar; disregarding the displeasure I might incur, I did what I could: and I remember concluding a letter I wrote to him on his appointment to Ireland, with saying, 'Let me beseech you, as you respect your future character and consequence in life, as you love your Duchess and your children, not to suffer the castle at Dublin to become another Brookes's to you.'

"Such have been my principles, and such my conduct, both in public and private life; and if for these I am to be abandoned by my friends, and proscribed the emoluments of my profession (to the highest of which there are who think that the Bishop of Landaff has as honourable and as professional a claim as any of his brethren), the misfortune may fall on me and my family, but the dishonour must rest with others.

"I write this to *you*, because I wish *you* not to be ignorant of the motives of my conduct; but I will never condescend to give a word of explanation to Mr. Pitt. I have rendered him some services and many civilities, and at times when both were of importance to him; but I never experienced from him the least return of either. The cause of this neglect is quite unknown to me. If my parliamentary independence is the cause, I can only say, that it must remain for ever; and that Mr. Pitt is desti-

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tute of that magnanimity, and considering his professions respecting the reform of parliament, of that political integrity too, of which I once thought him possessed.

"You will blame me for this loftiness of spirit, and your friendship for me will make you regret that I cannot subdue it; but I feel that it springs from a root of honour, and I will not attempt to subdue it.

"You need not have the trouble of answering this; I have no doubt of the continuance of your regard for me; and I trust we both of us have too elevated sentiments to suffer the madness of politics to deaden on either side the activity of friendship. I stay at Cambridge till the middle of June, and then go into Westmoreland for four or five months; there, in all places, you may rest assured of my warmest attachment to yourself and your children.

"R. Landaff."

Towards the latter end of the same month, Mr. Stewart, a son of Lord Cardiff, and a very amiable young man, waited upon me at Cambridge to ask my opinion relative to his becoming a candidate to represent the University of Cambridge at the next general election. Had I been of that little and revengeful mind which disgraced Mr. Pitt, by whom I had been so repeatedly neglected, I should certainly have embraced the opportunity which was now presented to me, of raising an opposition to him; for my encouragement of Mr. Stewart would quickly have produced one. On the contrary, I assured Mr. Stewart that I thought Mr. Pitt (notwithstanding I had no private reason to be pleased with him) a very proper person to represent the University; and that as to

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his colleague, Lord Euston, I would not suffer his accidental difference in politics from me, to lessen, for a moment, my private friendship for him: in a word, I informed Mr. Stewart, that he must not entertain any hopes of my assistance. He asked me if he might tell the Duke of Portland so. I told him that he certainly might, for that, though I had a great regard for the Duke of Portland's Whig principles, and had taken part with the opposition in the Regency transaction, I would not unite myself to any party beyond the direct influence of my own judgment in public measures; and that private friendship was too sacred a thing to be abandoned for the purposes of changeable policy. Mr. Stewart behaved perfectly well on hearing this declaration, and the intended opposition was given up.

In 1789, Mr. Howard published, in a large quarto volume, an account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe, and honoured me (though personally unknown to him) with a copy of it, in which he had written, with his own hand,—"Mr. Howard presents his best respects to the Lord Bishop of Landaff, and requests his acceptance of this book, as a small testimony of his esteem." I am not ashamed to own that such an encomium from such a man was highly acceptable to me, having always considered the esteem of good men as the strongest incentive to virtuous exertion and its fittest reward.

I pursued my intention of retiring, in a great measure, from public life, and laid, in the summer of 1789, the foundation of my house on the banks of the Winandermere. I have now spent above twenty years in this delightful country; but my time has not

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been spent in field-diversions, in idle visitings, in county bickerings, in indolence or intemperance: no, it has been spent, partly in supporting the religion and constitution of the country by seasonable publications; and principally in building farm-houses, blasting rocks, enclosing wastes, in making bad land good, in planting larches, and in planting in the hearts of my children principles of piety, of benevolence, and of self-government. By such occupations I have much recovered my health, entirely preserved my independence, set an example of a spirited husbandry to the county, and honourably provided for my family.

The Duke of Grafton published in the course of the spring (1789) a pamphlet entitled, "Hints to the New Association," and recommending a revisal of our Liturgy, &c. Notwithstanding the intimacy with which I then lived with His Grace, I knew nothing of this pamphlet, nor who was the author of it, for his name was not put to it till several months after it had been published. When I did know who was the author, I greatly rejoiced that a person of his rank had ventured to propose a reform in one of the points respecting the Church, which I had long ago recommended.

In February, 1790, two pamphlets were published in opposition to the Duke's Hints.. I wrote an hasty reply to these attacks upon a nobleman whose zeal for Christianity, instead of censure and obloquy, deserved the praise of all good men. I took a large and liberal view of the subject, thinking it better to do that, than to give a printed answer to every petulant remark of the two pamphleteers, though one of them, I have no doubt, was the pro-

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duction of a bishop, if not both. In this tract I had said, that the French government, in order to secure its stability, might, perhaps, think it expedient to pay from the public purse, not only Catholic but Protestant teachers of Christianity. This wise and equitable measure was adopted by Buonaparte, when he re-established the Gallican church in 1802, and it ought long ago to have been adopted in Ireland.

When I had nearly finished my reply, the Duke of Grafton, to whom I sent each sheet as I composed it, wrote to me in the kindest manner, begging me to consider whether I would venture to publish it: every Christian, he said, ought to think himself obliged to me for it; but he was certain I never should be forgiven it. I thanked His Grace for his kind attention, but told him, at the same time, that no interested consideration should hold me back. How, said I to him in my letter, how shall I answer this at the tribunal of Christ—You saw the corruption of my Church, you had some ability to attempt a reform, but secular considerations choked your integrity — if I should now undo what I have done? I accordingly published the pamphlet under the title of, "Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, by a consistent Protestant." Though my name was not affixed to this publication, and every precaution was taken to conceal its author, yet it was very soon generally attributed to me.

I had, at the time, some conversation with the Duke of Grafton on the propriety of commencing a reform, by the introduction of a Bill into the House of Lords, for expunging the Athanasian,

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Creed from our Liturgy; and we had, in a manner, settled to do it: but the strange turn which the French Revolution took about that period, and the general abhorrence of all innovations, which its atrocities excited, induced us to postpone our design, and no fit opportunity has yet offered for resuming it, nor probably will offer itself, in my time. In answer to a letter from the Duke of Grafton, in which, among other things, he informed me that Dr. Priestley had publicly said that he *knew* the pamphlet here mentioned was written by the Bishop of Landaff, I sent the following note: —

" Dr. PRIESTLEY cannot *know* the author; on the day I dined at Lord *Lansdowne*'s, there were present *Kippis* and *Price*, and many Dissenters: the conversation once turned on the subject of the pamphlet, and it is possible that my mode of expression, which no doubt was particularly marked, might give an hint to those gentlemen. But I really am little concerned about the matter; and, if I thought that owning it, in the present state of the business, would not impede, rather than promote, the progress of the good cause we have in hand, I would not, from any private consideration, shrink from putting my name to it. The reasoning of the pamphlet you sent me is perfectly just, but prejudice cannot be subdued by reason. I remember a Lambeth chaplain once maintaining, in the Divinity-Schools, the necessity of excluding Dissenters from public offices; I pressed him with proper arguments; at length he was forced to acknowledge, that the greater the integrity, and the greater the ability, any man had, the more unfit was he for a public office, if he did not think in every point with the Established Church. There I let the dispute

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end: it was impossible to rise higher in the scale of absurdity. I concur with Your Grace in wishing the motion (respecting the expunction of the Athanasian Creed from the Liturgy) to be made, and notice of making it to be given in the way you mention. No distance or business shall hinder me from appearing in my place in the House of Lords, on the day the point shall be debated, and standing up with my best ability in support of your motion. You thought of mentioning the subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury; I consider that as a candid proceeding, suited to the importance of the subject; and I suggest to Your Grace's consideration a circumstance, of which you can form a much better judgment than I can,—Whether it would not be proper to mention it to the King in the first instance. The Windsor anecdote would induce me to think that the King would have no objection, and his concurrence would facilitate the measure. But if he should object, it may then admit a deliberation, whether, *in foro conscientiæ*, Your Grace should proceed. I cannot flatter myself that any little publications of mine can have been instrumental in turning Your Grace's attention to religious studies, but I am happy in the event of your application. A future state is the most important consideration that can affect a human mind, and if the Gospel is not true, of that state I can have no expectation.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

The Windsor anecdote, here alluded to, was told me by the late Doctor Heberden:—The clergyman there, on a day when the Athanasian Creed was to be read, began with *Whosoever will be saved*, &c.; the King, who usually responded with a loud voice,

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was silent; the minister repeated, in an higher tone, his *Whosoever;* the King continued silent; at length the Apostle's Creed was repeated by the minister, and the King followed him throughout with a distinct and audible voice.

I certainly dislike the *imposition* of all creeds formed by human authority; though I do not dislike them, as useful summaries of what *their compilers believe* to be true, either in natural or revealed religion.

As to natural religion, the creeds of the most distinguished philosophers, from *Plato* and *Cicero* to *Leibnitz* and *Clarke*, are extremely various, with respect to the origin of things — the existence and attributes, natural and moral, of the Supreme Being — the natural mortality or immortality of the human soul — the liberty and necessity of human actions — the principle of virtue, and other important points. And, as to revealed religion, though all its doctrines are expressed in one book, yet such a diversity of interpretations has been given to the same passages of Scripture, that not only individuals, but whole churches, have formed to themselves different creeds, and introduced them into their forms of worship. The Greek church admits not into its ritual either the Apostle's Creed, or the Athanasian, but merely the Nicene. The Episcopal church in America admits the Nicene and the Apostle's Creed, but rejects the Athanasian. The church of England admits the whole three into its Liturgy; and some of the foreign Protestant churches admit none but the Apostle's. These, and other creeds which might be mentioned, are all of human fabrication; they oblige conscience, as far as they are

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conformable to Scripture, and of that conformity every man must judge for himself. This liberty of private judgment is recognised by our church (notwithstanding subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles) when, in the service for the ordering of priests, it proposes this question: — "Are you determined, out of the said Scriptures, to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which *you shall be persuaded* may be concluded and proved by the Scriptures?"

In March, 1791, I wrote to Mr. Pitt, that, as I was then going into Westmoreland, I should have no opportunity of delivering, in the House of Lords, my sentiments on the Catholic Bill, which was then pending in the Commons, and that, on that account, I took the liberty of sending him the following hint: — "Might it not be proper to introduce into the Oath of Protestation, a declaration of this kind? — *And that we believe salvation is not restricted to the members of the Church of Rome.* — Whilst the doctrine of there being no salvation out of the Romish pale is maintained, the Catholics have such a motive for making proselytes as belongs not to Protestants, and it is a motive which must operate with great force on the mind of every sincere Papist. I am apprehensive that Catholic schools will become numerous; the glare of ceremonies will fascinate the minds of the common people; and the doctrine of absolution, and of praying souls out of purgatory, will be palatable to many. I am afraid of Popery, because, where it has the power, it assumes the right of persecution, and whilst it believes that in afflicting the body, it saves the soul of a convert, I do not see how it can abandon the idea of the utility of persecution. If

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schools are allowed for the Catholics at *home*, what is to become of the sums, which have been appropriated by the English Catholics, to the maintenance of foreign seminaries? I am, &c."

My detestation of the intolerance of the church of Rome, and of the uncharitableness of its doctrine, respecting the final damnation of those whom it calls heretics, occasioned my writing the above note to Mr. Pitt. The indulgence, however, which was then granted to the Protesting Catholics met with my hearty approbation; for though I disliked some of their religious principles, I entertained no doubt of the sincerity of their political protestation. Whether many converts will be made to Popery in this country, is a question not capable of immediate decision; but that the apprehension of its influence over vulgar minds is not wholly chimerical, may appear from what *Forster* has said in his travels: —"I have heard Mr. Schwartz, the Christian missionary on the coast of Coromandel, as pious a priest as ever preached the Gospel, and as good a man as ever adorned society, complain, that many of his Indian proselytes, disgusted at his church's want of glitter and bustle, take an early opportunity of going over to the Popish communion, where they are congenially gratified by the painted scenery, by relics, charms, and the blaze of fire-works."

About this time I received the two following letters, one of them from a gentleman unknown to me, in Ireland: —

"My Lord,

"Unknown as I am to Your Lordship, and without the honour of an introduction, permit me, in this method, to express my ob-

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ligations for your labours in the cause of Christianity, and the benefit which I in particular have derived from them:—inestimable indeed!

"Young and inexperienced, by the impious jests and contagious example of profligate associates, I at length abandoned the religious principles in which I had been early instructed, and with sorrow confess imbibed those of infidelity. In this deplorable situation I met with Your Lordship's Theological Tracts, and Apology for Christianity. By a careful perusal of both, I am overpowered with evidence and conviction; so that with me the truth of our most holy religion stands on a foundation infinitely firmer than that of any remote fact whatever—*it is the power of God unto salvation.*

"In consequence of this happy change, I hope I am solicitous to conform my practice to the divine precepts of the Gospel, for I have lately complied with our blessed Saviour's dying command.

"Under omnipotent influence, your writings have been powerfully efficacious in dissipating the gloom of scepticism in which I once was so involved. But plain and unlettered as I am, gratitude must supersede encomium. I however sincerely pray, that you may at least receive an approbation the most significant,—Well done, enter into the joy of your Lord—when, in the noble language of Scripture,—They who have turned many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

"I have the honour to be Your Lordship's much obliged

"And most obedient servant,

Irvine, "***."

Nov. 17. 1792.

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"My Lord,

"Having perused with great pleasure Your Lordship's Apology for Christianity, addressed to Edward Gibbon, Esquire, author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, I am proud to acknowledge, that I have received much satisfaction and information on certain points in it, which I had not before observed in any writer on the subject.

"I confess I was particularly struck with your force of reasoning and conclusive arguments in opposition to a very common objection brought by Free-thinkers of the age against the Mosaic account of the world's age, especially since the publication of Monsieur Bridon's Travels through Sicily and Malta, wherein arguments are made use of by the Canon Recupero, to prove the world to be, I think, eight thousand years older than the Mosaic account; but which Your Lordship has entirely overturned, by a comparison of Mount Vesuvius, which proves that a stratum of natural earth is not so long forming on a surface of lava as the Canon supposes.

"Although I have not the honour of being known to Your Lordship, yet I hope the well-known candour and liberality of sentiment you possess, will pardon the freedom I take in this address, for Your Lordship's solution of a difficulty which has been frequently urged in debate against the truth of Scripture-history, and which, unfortunately for myself, my poor abilities have never been able to defend.

"I must inform Your Lordship it has been my misfortune to have been in habits of intimacy with unbelievers, who, knowing my attachment to the religious principles in which I was educated, never fail to insult my way of thinking by scoffs and sneers

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at some of the mysterious doctrines of the Christian religion, which they exultingly defy me to prove. No later ago than yesterday (being Sunday) a discourse of this kind took place, in which I bore a part, I will even own an unworthy part, not being able to convince the adversaries, for though a layman I exert myself in defence of what I hold sacred. The subject was, the peopling the earth after the Deluge, which, it was contended, must prove the Mosaic account to be false, as could be demonstrated by the discoveries of celebrated navigators, who have found islands inhabited in the South Seas, which from the ignorance of navigation in ancient times could never have had communication with any of the continents; consequently, say they, the earth must have been peopled in some other way than by those preserved in the ark.

"Now, My Lord, though I will freely acknowledge I might obtain the sentiments of some very worthy and sensible men in this kingdom on the subject, yet I must own I am so partial to your works, especially standing so high as Your Lordship does in the republic of letters, as leaves me no doubt of a most satisfactory elucidation. It would confer a lasting obligation if Your Lordship will condescend to favour me with your sentiments on the above subject.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem,

"Your Lordship's obedient and very humble servant,

"* * *."

I forbear giving the name and address of the author of the above letter; but as it seemed to be written with a serious inten-

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tion, I thought it became me not to overlook it, and I immediately sent him the following answer: —

" Sir, Calgarth Park, Sept. 30. 1791.

" Bad health has obliged me to abandon all literary pursuits, and to endeavour to restore, by the indolence of a country-life, a broken constitution. In this retirement I have, at present, no books of any kind; yet I will not decline answering, in the best manner I can without them, the main subject of your letter; entreating you not to suffer your mind to be diverted from the rectitude of its persuasion, though I should not be able to reply satisfactorily to your enquiry.

" The tenth chapter of Genesis is one of the most ancient, one of the most authentic, and one of the most valuable records in the world. Its antiquity cannot be denied by any one in the least skilled in chronology. No person has ever questioned its authenticity; it is universally allowed to have been written by the author of the Pentateuch; and as to its value, it is inestimable; for it explains to us the origins of nations, *Medes*, *Assyrians*, *Persians*, *Grecians*, *Egyptians*, *Lydians*, *Syrians*, all the mighty nations of antiquity, concerning the origin of whom the poets told senseless tales, and the historians gave but uncertain conjectures (as may be seen by consulting Herodotus and other writers of profane history); these are all clearly described in Sacred History, as distinct scions springing from one common stock—*Noah*.

" *Bochart*, *Huetius*, *Goguet*, *Le Clerc*, *Bryant*, and innumerable other authors have treated this subject with such perspicuity, that it is a shame for any unbeliever to be ignorant of what they have said; and it will be impossible for him to deny the truth of their

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argumentation. They differ somewhat from each other as to the particular regions in which some of the grandsons of Noah were settled; but this general conclusion is established by them all,—that all the nations of which history has given any account have originated from *Shem*, *Ham*, or *Japhet*. Now this conclusion, as to the source from which all the continents were peopled, being established, (and I think it is fully established even if we take into the account the Chinese, Japanese, and other eastern nations;) why should we suffer a little difficulty, as to the manner in which the islands were peopled, to stagger our faith in Scripture-history?

"If my memory does not fail me, it is related by *Hornius*, in his book "*De Originibus Americanis*," that is was proposed by some superstitious people, as a question which none but a man possessed by the devil could answer, How was America peopled? yet the question can now be answered without the aid of supernatural assistance. In like manner future discoveries of navigators may enable us to answer the question concerning the peopling of the islands in the South Sea, though it should be deemed unanswerable at present.

"I am far from believing that question to be unanswerable at present, and think it probable that *Forster*, the most philosophical of our late circumnavigators, has written something on the subject; but I cannot say with certainty whether he has or not; it may be worth your while to consult his work.

"To me there appear to be two ways, by which the present islands may have been peopled: there may be other ways, but two strike me as obvious ones; by navigation, and by inundations of the sea.

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" Though the compass, and other improvements in the art of sailing, have enabled the moderns to go from any one point to another on the surface of the ocean, with as much certainty as they travel from city to city on the surface of the earth; yet we must not suppose that the ancients were so wholly unskilled in that art, as never to have ventured by *design* out of the sight of land. The trade of the Phenicians, Syrians, and Carthaginians, is a proof to the contrary. Tempests and trade-winds might have carried merchant vessels beyond their *designed* limits; and thus it appears not unreasonable to suppose, that it was accidental or designed sailing which peopled England from Gaul, Ireland from the northern continent, Japan from Eastern Tartary or China; similar causes might have peopled the islands from the nearest continents.

" Voltaire, I think, in some part of his writings, says—that God planted men in different regions of the earth as he planted trees; insinuating that the doctrine of a common origin of mankind is an incredible story. A similar extravagance of assertion is not uncommon in the mouths of other unbelievers. I call it extravagance of assertion, because (putting all professional bias out of the question) I am firmly convinced, that the account given by Moses of the manner in which the earth became inhabited after the Deluge, is confirmed by the profane history of the remotest periods, and by the present circumstances of mankind on the surface of the earth.

" Another manner in which islands may have become peopled, respects the manner in which they may have been formed; they may, in remote ages, have been connected with continents, and separated therefrom by inundations of the ocean; and having

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been peopled before they were separated, we are under no necessity of having recourse even to navigation, as a mean of stocking them with inhabitants.

" Had Great Britain been connected with France where the Straits of Dover now are, or with Ireland at the Mull of Galloway, we should have no difficulty in accounting for the peopling of Great Britain and Ireland. A junction of the Red Sea with the Mediterranean would make Africa an island; and if the Isthmus of Darien should sink into the bowels of the earth, America would be separated into two islands, or into more than two, according to the height and extent of the inundation which would take place, on the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. I mention these circumstances, because it is probable that changes as great as these have taken place, and are now taking place on different parts of the surface of the globe. Naturalists are agreed that Iceland, which is as large as Ireland, is entirely a volcanic production; it has been raised from the bottom of the ocean; can we think it improbable then (to say nothing of Plato's testimony concerning a continent being swallowed up by the ocean) that the sea may have inundated various parts of the earth, and that the higher lands, constituting the present islands, may have been peopled by the inhabitants who escaped the inundation.

" But in whatever way the islands of the South Sea may have become inhabited, the similarity (I do not say the identity) of the languages spoken in them all, leads us to believe that they have all had one common origin; and the time I conjecture will come, when the mother-language of all the various dialects spoken in these islands will be discovered in some part of Asia.

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" There is another argument which, with me, has great weight in establishing the fact, that these inhabitants have had continental progenitors, and the argument is this,—Their drums, spears, bows, helmets; their nets, hooks, hatchets; most of their instruments, warlike and domestic, as well as many of their customs, civil, military, and religious, have a strong resemblance to what we read concerning the instruments and customs of other nations. I forbear dilating on this subject, the mention of it will be sufficient to show you its importance.

" As to the mysteries of the Christian religion, it is neither your concern nor mine to explain them; for if they are mysteries, they cannot be explained. But our time may be properly employed in enquiring whether there are so many mysteries in Christianity as the Deists say there are. Many doctrines have been imposed on the Christian world as doctrines of the Gospel, which have no foundation whatever in Scripture. Instead of defending these doctrines, it is the duty of a real disciple of Jesus Christ to reprobate them as gangrenous excrescences, corrupting the fair form of genuine Christianity.

" That Jesus Christ lived, died, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, are facts established by better historical testimony, than that Alexander fought Darius, conquered Persia, and passed into India. But on the resurrection of Christ all our hopes as men, and our obligations as Christians, are founded. And if we have as great or greater reason to believe that fact, than we have to believe almost any fact recorded in history, we shall act irrationally, and, in a matter of such high concern, foolishly and culpably, if we withhold our assent to it; and if we do assent to it, our duty is obvious.

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" With much good will towards you, and with a request that you will excuse this hasty performance,

" I remain your obedient servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

I sent my correspondent's letter and the answer to the Duke of Grafton on the 12th October, 1791, with the subjoined note: —

" My dear Lord Duke,

" WITH very little knowledge of the subject I am become a farmer; but that Your Grace may not think me a mere farmer, I send for your perusal a letter, and my answer to it; there is nothing in either of them worthy your attention, but I know your mind has taken a turn for such speculations; and I flatter myself that you will be glad to hear that I am in tolerable health, though not free from the malady which has so long oppressed me.

" I have not heard from you since the Birmingham riots; at the time they happened I sat down to write to Your Grace, and to say, that even my littleness would stretch itself to an hundred pounds subscription, if the friends of Dr. Priestley should think of consoling him, in that way, for the loss he had sustained, and the chagrin any mind less elevated than his own must have experienced from such harsh and unmerited treatment. On second thoughts I put the letter I had written into the fire, lest such a proposal, coming from a bishop, should have tended to inflame matters, by increasing the unchristian choler of high-churchmen, which has already produced much mischief.

" We live in singular times. No history, ancient or modern, furnishes an example similar to what has happened in France; an

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example of a whole people (the exceptions are not worthy of notice) divesting themselves of the prejudices of birth and education, in civil and religious concerns, and adopting the principles of philosophy and good sense.

" I speak only of the general outline of their constitution ; piddling objections may be made to particular parts, and experience will point out the necessity of reconsidering many things. But notwithstanding all the ridicule which apostate Whigs have attempted to throw on the rights of man, such rights are founded in nature; they exist antecedent to and independent of civil society ; and the French constitution is the only one in the world which has deliberately asserted these rights, and supported them in their full extent.

" In England we want not a fundamental revolution, but we certainly want a reform both in the civil and ecclesiastical part of our constitution ; men's minds, however, I think, are not yet generally prepared for admitting its necessity. A reformer of Luther's temper and talents would, in five years, persuade the people to compel the parliament to abolish tithes, to extinguish pluralities, to enforce residence, to confine episcopacy to the overseeing of dioceses, to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Liturgy, to free Dissenters from test acts, and the ministers of the Establishment from subscription to human articles of faith. — These, and other matters respecting the Church, ought to be done. I want not courage to attempt doing what I think ought to be done, and I am not held back by considerations of personal interest; but my temper is peaceable, I dislike contention, and trust that the still voice of reason will at length be heard.

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"As to the civil state, it cannot continue long as it is. One minister, in subserviency to the will of his master, doubles the national debt and dismembers the empire, and is instantly taken into the confidence of those who threatened to take his head. Another expends millions on measures grounded on his own ambition, insolence, or temerity, and finds means of inducing a great majority in both Houses of Parliament to place confidence in his wisdom.

"The people will in time see that they have no reason to place confidence in any party; that every party, in its turn, ennobles its opulent friends, and enriches its poorer supporters, at the public expense. But I will forbear politics; I love my country, and cannot see its decline in principle, and the increase of that corruption which must undo it, without regret.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

In the beginning of 1792, I published a Charge which I had delivered to my clergy in the preceding June; in this Charge I had touched upon unpopular subjects — the advantages which would probably result to human society from the French Revolution; which was not at that time dishonoured by the events which soon followed, and which have hitherto continued to disgrace it — and the injustice and impolicy of our Test and Corporation Acts. The Charge had been wholly misrepresented, and copies of the misrepresentation had been handed about at the tables of bishops and of judges. I thought fit to publish the Charge, with the following advertisement prefixed to it: — "After I had delivered the following Charge to the clergy of my diocese, I was requested

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by many of them, as well as by several of the laity who heard it, to publish it. I had no reason for declining a compliance with their request, except the opinion I entertained of there being nothing in the Charge meriting the public notice. I have lately heard that a written paper, purporting to contain the substance of my Charge, has been circulated with, perhaps, *unbecoming* if not *uncharitable* industry. The circulators of that paper will now have an opportunity of knowing (what a little candour might have taught them to expect), how defective memory is in giving a just account of a discourse of some length. Few men are less moved by unmerited censure or less solicitous in repelling groundless calumny than myself; but I conceive it to be a Christian duty to suffer no man to continue in an error when it is in my power to remove it. Under the influence of that opinion I am obliged to trouble the world with this publication."

This proceeding had a proper effect; it quashed the reports which had been spread, and it made some persons of high distinction ashamed of their credulity, in giving ear to them, and of their conduct in propagating them. I was compelled, as it were, to publish this Charge, but I was not sorry that an occasion was given me of delivering my sentiments on a matter of great importance.

I will just state to the reader how I argued myself into the adoption of the opinion advanced in this Charge relative to the Dissenters. Had I consulted my interest, I should certainly have been silent on this point; for who knows not how little a bishop's interest is connected with his opposition to the avowed sentiments

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of a minister? and Mr. Pitt had repeatedly avowed his—that the Test-Act ought not to be repealed. Whether this avowal was made by Mr. Pitt in conformity to his own opinion, or in subservience to the opinion of another, was then and has still been with me a matter of doubt. There have been ministers in all ages who have carried on measures contrary to their judgment. If such pliancy proceeds from a diffidence of their own ability, it is to be commended; but if it proceeds, as it generally does, from a reluctance to relinquish their places, it is highly dishonourable to themselves and ruinous to their country.

There appear to me but two reasons for excluding any honest man from eligibility to public office,—want of capacity to serve the office, and want of attachment to the civil constitution of the country. That the Dissenters want capacity, will not be asserted; that they want attachment to the civil constitution of the country, is asserted by many, but proved by none. On this point the whole question turns. If the Dissenters have secret views of undermining the civil constitution, of introducing a republican form of government in the place of that which, notwithstanding its defects, we at present so happily enjoy, the Test-Act ought not to be repealed; and if they have no such views, its continuance is an oppression. Whether they have or have not such views cannot be known from the affirmation of their enemies on the one hand, or from the denial of their friends on the other: on both sides it may be said, *Quiescat lingua, interroga vitam.* Now the history of the conduct of the Dissenters since the Revolution, nay at and since the Restoration, proves (to me at least it proves) that they have no such views.

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The Dissenters are neither Tories nor Republicans, but friends to the principles of the Revolution. Notwithstanding the virulence of Mr. Burke's invective against him, I give entire credit to what Dr. Price has said of himself and of the Dissenters, in the following extract from his Sermon preached, April, 1787, before the supporters of a new academical institution among Protestant Dissenters:—"I cannot help taking this opportunity to remove a "very groundless suspicion with respect to myself, by adding, "that so far am I from preferring a government purely repub- "lican, that I look upon our own constitution of government as "better adapted than any other to this country, and in theory "excellent. I have said in theory, for in consequence of the in- "crease of corruption and the miserable inadequateness of our "representation, it is chiefly the theory and form of our consti- "tution that we possess; and this I reckon our first, and worst, "and greatest grievance. What I say of myself I believe to be "true of the whole body of British subjects among Protestant "Dissenters. I know not *one* among them who would not trem- "ble at the thought of changing into a democracy our mixed form "of government, or who has any other wish with respect to it "than to restore it to purity and vigour, by removing the defects "in our representation, and establishing that independence of the "three states on one another, in which its essence consists."

But it may be said that I have not stated the whole question, inasmuch as the Dissenters are enemies to the Church-establishment, and that the State is so *allied* to the Church that he who is unfriendly to the one must wish the subversion of both. I think this reasoning is not just: a man may certainly wish for a change

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in an ecclesiastical establishment, without wishing for a change in the civil constitution of a country. An Episcopalian, for instance, may wish to see bishops established in all Scotland, without wishing Scotland to become a republic; and he may wish that episcopacy may be established in all the American states, without wishing that monarchy may be established in any of them. The protection of life, liberty, and property is not inseparably or exclusively connected with any particular form of church-government. The blessings of civil society depend upon the proper execution of good laws, and upon the good morals of the people; but no one will attempt to prove, that the laws and morals of the people may not be as good in Germany, Swisserland, Scotland, under a Presbyterian, as in England or France under an episcopal form of church-government.

But it is thought that, were the Test and Corporation Acts repealed, the Dissenters would get a footing in some of the boroughs returning members to parliament. The Dissenters have, at present, a considerable influence in many boroughs; but there is little probability that, were all legal obstacles to their eligibility to public offices removed, they would ever be able to overcome the influence of government, the influence of the aristocracy, and the influence of the Church, in the majority of the boroughs in this kingdom. But, admitting so very improbable an occurrence to take place, what then? Why then a majority of boroughs would return Dissenters to sit in parliament. Dissenters are allowed to sit in parliament at present; the danger, then, such as it is, arises not from Dissenters having seats in parliament, but from the number of dissenting members being increased. But that the

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number of dissenting members should ever be so far increased as to constitute a majority of the House of Commons is to me quite an improbable circumstance; I think it a far more likely event that, all restraints being removed, the Dissenters will insensibly become Churchmen. Suppose, however, even that improbable circumstance to take place, and that a majority of the House of Commons has ceased to be Churchmen — what then? Why then the House of Commons may present to the House of Lords a Bill for changing the constitution of the Church of England into that of the Church of Scotland. Be it so — what then? Why then the House of Commons will compel the House of Lords to agree to such a Bill; this does not follow; I know not any legal or probable means of effecting such a compulsion; but for the sake of coming to a conclusion, let it be admitted that, at some distant period of which no man can form a reasonable conjecture, the House of Lords would, by compulsion or choice, agree with the House of Commons, and that the King would agree with them both in establishing Presbytery in the room of Episcopacy — what then? Why then the present form of the Church of England would be changed into another! And is this all? — this the catastrophe of so many tragical forebodings — this the issue of so many improbable contingencies — this the result of so much unchristian contention — this a cause for continuing distinctions by which the persons and properties of peaceful citizens are exposed to the fiery zeal of a senseless rabble? — A great *Protestant* nation does not return to *Popery* — a great *Christian* nation does not apostatise to *Paganism* or *Mahometanism*; it simply adopts an ecclesiastical constitution different from what it had before. What is there in this to alarm any man who liberally thinks with the late

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Dr. Powell, that there is nothing in the regimen of the Church of England, or in that of the Church of Scotland, repugnant either to the natural rights of man, or to the word of God:—*Ecclesiastici regiminis in Anglia et in Scotia constituti, neutra forma, aut juri hominum naturali aut verbo Dei repugnat.*

This improbable change in the Church-establishment, and a change at the same time not to be lamented, if brought about by a change in the sentiments of the nation, appeared to me to be an uncertain and distant evil of far less magnitude, than what might be expected from a continuance of the Test-Act. I was afraid that the Dissenters, believing themselves to be ill-treated at home, might be induced gradually to carry their wealth, industry, and manufacturing skill into some other country; or, if motives of prudence hindered them from adopting such a measure, that they would retain a grudge against the government, and be ready to show their displeasure whenever an opportunity of doing it with effect might present itself.

About this time I wrote the letter, from which the subjoined extract is made, to an intimate friend, in answer to one I had received from him:—

"My religion is not founded, I hope, in presumption, but in piety. I cannot look upon the Author of my existence in any other light than as the most commiserating parent; not extreme to mark what is done amiss, not implacable, not revengeful, not disposed to punish past offences when the heart abhors them, but

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ready, with the utmost benignity, to receive into his favour every repentant sinner.

" By the constitution of nature, which may properly be considered as indicating the will of God, all excess in sensual indulgences tends to the depravation of the mind, and to the debilitation of the body, and may, on that account, be esteemed repugnant to the will of God. This repugnancy is made more apparent by the Gospel. Now all our happiness in this world and in the next depending ultimately on the will of God, every one may see a moral necessity of conforming his actions to that will. But, as the will of God has no degree of selfishness in it, is not excited on any occasion to gratify the resentment or any other passion of the Supreme Being (as often happens in the will of man), I cannot but believe, that a change of temper, accompanied by a change of conduct, is all that God requires of us in order to be restored, after our greatest transgressions, to his perfect acceptance.

" We know not in what the felicity of the next world will consist, but we do know that it will not consist in the gratification of our present senses; yet God is not an harsh Master, for he hath furnished us with abundant means of present enjoyment; and had every enjoyment of sense been sinful, he certainly would neither have given us senses nor objects adapted to them; he hath done both; and he requires from us such a moderation in the use of them, as may preserve our minds from being so addicted to them, as to prevent us from having any relish for the duties of benevolence and holiness, in the exercise of which it is not improbable that our future happiness may consist.

" Every denunciation of God against intemperance in the pleasures of sense, against injustice in our intercourse with mankind,

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against impiety towards himself seems to proceed from his extreme affection for us, by which he warns us from a course of conduct, the final issue of which we cannot, in this state, comprehend.

" The love of God casteth out fear; let us once bottom our principle of action on the desire of obeying Him, and though we may be impelled by our passions to occasional deviations from what is right, yet this obliquity of conduct will not continue long; the hope of living under His fatherly kindness and protection will bring us to a rational sense of duty, to a just confidence of acceptance with Him.

" There is much mechanism in our constitution; our thoughts are influenced by the state of the body to a degree, and in a manner, which no philosophy can explain. A bodily infirmity produces in the minds of some men a dejection of spirits, a despondency of sentiment, which other men, with equal or superior cause for dejection and despondency, and under apparently equal bodily infirmities, feel not at all. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for beings such as we are, to account for this difference, but we may be persuaded of this, that God who made us knows this diversity of temper, and will make a kind and fatherly allowance for it, and not impute more than is just to him whose mind is oppressed by unreasonable apprehensions, originating in corporal imbecility.

" I have read the ' Vindiciæ,' and have reason to rejoice that so little can be said against a Charge, written with no intention of being printed. My opponents are indebted to the pride or the placability of my temper for their security; I could chastise them, but I partly disdain the task as thinking it beneath me, and I

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partly decline it from not wishing to cherish an unchristian disposition in myself, or to excite it in others."

In April, this year (1792), an hundred gentlemen formed themselves into a society, under the title of "The Friends of the People," for the express purpose of procuring a parliamentary reform. The minister at the outset of his political life had been as zealous as any one for this reform, but he had either really changed his opinion respecting it, or now yielded to the apprehensions or designs of the closet, for he took an early opportunity of damping the exertions of the Friends of the People, by endeavouring to make them participate in the odium which had, not unjustly, fallen upon some other societies connected with the promoters of the French Revolution. On the 21st of May, a Proclamation was issued by His Majesty against seditious meetings and criminal correspondencies; the Friends of the People were too respectable to be mentioned, by name, in the Proclamation; but it was generally understood to have been principally levelled against them. The two Houses of Parliament, and the city of London, set the example of addressing the King on the occasion, and it was intimated, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishops of his province, that addresses were expected from them. I drew up the following for my diocese. I could not bring myself to praise the Proclamation, because it opposed what I have ever thought absolutely necessary for the preservation of the constitution:—

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We the Bishop, Archdeacon and Chapter, and the Clergy of the diocese of Landaff, humbly tender to Your Majesty our

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strongest assurances of loyalty to Your Majesty's person, of attachment to your family, of zeal for the principles of the Revolution, and of our utter abhorrence of every attempt to subvert the constitution in church and state then established, and since then improved.

"The improvements which the constitution has received—in the judges being rendered more independent, in the mode of determining contested elections, in the repeal of certain penal statutes respecting Protestant and Catholic dissenters, in ascertaining the rights of juries, and in other ways—have been more numerous and important during Your Majesty's reign than during the reigns of all your predecessors since the Revolution.

"We are thankful for what has been done; and, without encouraging improper modes of innovation in other matters, still, perhaps, requiring an amendment, we trust, that what is wanting to render our constitution perfect and permanent will be accomplished by the deliberate wisdom of the legislature, rather than by the rash violence of democratic faction.

"When we compare our situation as citizens of a free state, with that of those who are either struggling for that liberty which we enjoy, or groaning under that slavery which we are in no danger of, we cannot but set the highest value on that form of civil government from which our happiness is derived; and we beg leave, in the most serious and solemn manner, to declare to Your Majesty, that in proportion to this our estimation of its worth, will be our zeal for the preservation of the constitution."

Soon after the dissolution of the Constituent, or first National Assembly of France, I dined at Earl Stanhope's (it was the only

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time I ever had that honour), in company with the Bishop of Autun, and several other principal Frenchmen, who had been members of that Assembly. Having witnessed the respect with which Lord Stanhope treated these gentlemen, and with which His Lordship was treated by them, I was induced to write the following letter to him in the autumn of 1792, after the King of France had been committed to the Temple on the 13th of August. I had no great expectation of success attending the application of an individual, buried in the wilds of Westmoreland, yet, knowing that the greatest events had often sprung from the slightest causes, I was determined to make an effort — feeble, but sincere! — to prevent that horrid butchery of the Royal Family, which afterwards took place, to the eternal disgrace of France. It has excited the detestation of the present, and will be followed by the execration of all succeeding ages.

" My Lord,

" Your opinion will have great weight with the National Assembly. I wish you could persuade them to do an act which would throw a veil over the late brutality of their populace; establish their new Republic on a solid foundation; and transmit their names with immortal honour to posterity.

" Instead of bringing their King to a trial, let them give him his liberty; assign him one of his palaces for his residence; settle upon himself and his posterity an hundred thousand pounds a-year, with a permission to spend it in France, or in any other country, subject to forfeiture on any act of treason against the *Republic.*

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"I will not trouble Your Lordship with describing how such an act of magnanimity and (may I not call it?) of justice and humanity, would conciliate the minds of all men to what appears to me an *axiom*—That the majority of every nation in the world has, at all times, a right to change their civil government. The French, by such a proceeding, would do more nobly by the Capets than the Romans did by the Tarquins, or than the English did by the Stuarts.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Whether Lord Stanhope ever troubled himself to suggest this hint to any of the National Assembly, I know not. His answer to me (Oct. 29. 1792,) was that—"New-made discoveries of the treachery, perfidy, and duplicity, of Louis XVI. had, within these few days, rendered the resentment against him more violent." Of the truth of this charge against the unfortunate Monarch, I am an incompetent judge; I remember, I thought at the time, that the constitution to which he had sworn was not first broken by himself in using his *veto*, but by the Jacobins in exciting an insurrection against him for having used it.

Notwithstanding all that has happened in France, I cannot but adhere to the political axiom mentioned in my letter to Lord Stanhope, and which Marmontel in his posthumous works, published in 1805, has adopted (vol. iii. p. 256.)—*La Revolution Française auroit eu, dans l'ancienne Rome, un exemple honorable à suivre. Louis XVI. n'avoit aucun des vices des Tarquins, et l'on n'avoit à l'accuser ni d'orgueil ni de violence; sans autre raison*

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que d'être lasse de ses Rois, la France pouvoit les expatrier avec toute leur race.—I do not agree with this author that the example of Rome was honourable; it would have been so, had an ample provision been made for Tarquin and his family.

In January, 1793, I published a Sermon entitled, "The Wisdom and Goodness of God in having made both Rich and Poor; with an Appendix respecting the then circumstances of Great Britain and France." A strong spirit of insubordination and discontent was, at that time, prevalent in Great Britain; the common people were, in every village, talking about liberty and equality without understanding the terms. I thought it not improper to endeavour to abate this revolutionary ferment, by informing the understandings of those who excited it.

The King (at his levee) complimented me in the warmest terms, in the hearing of the then Lord Dartmouth, on (he was pleased to say) the conciseness, clearness, and utility of this little publication; and the then Archbishop of Canterbury afterwards informed me, that His Majesty had spoken to him of the publication in the same terms, two months before.

On this occasion, when the King was praising what I had written, I said to him,—"I love to come forward in a moment of danger." His reply was so quick and proper that I will put it down,—"I see you do, and it is a mark of a man of high spirit." His Majesty's reception of me at his levee, to which I went once, or at the most twice a year, was always so complimentary, that notwithstanding the pestilent prevalence of court-duplicity, I can-

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not bring myself to believe that he was my enemy; though he has suffered me to remain, through life, worse provided for than any bishop on the bench. I owe nothing to the Crown but the bishopric of Landaff, and that has never paid the increase of expense incident to my change of station.

An hatred of the Whigs has, I think, shown itself during the whole of the reign, and I probably have come in for my share of it; for I have never made any secret of my opinion—that the same principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne of these kingdoms, are necessary to keep it there; and that all attempts to introduce into this great country the miserable despotism of the petty principalities of Germany, from whence our kings generally take their wives, would end in the deserved disgrace and ruin of those who make them.

On the 25th of January, 1795, the Duke of Bedford made a motion in the House of Lords, "That no form of government which may prevail in France should preclude a negotiation with that country, or prevent a peace whenever it could be made consistently with the honour, interest, and security of this nation." Though I had been told by one of my brethren, that the King had expressed his dislike of bishops interfering in political matters, I was not deterred by the fear of His Majesty's displeasure from making a speech in the House of Lords in support of the Duke of Bedford's motion. I was the only bishop who did, either by vote or speech, support this motion; and I do not repent of my singularity; for it was a motion at an early period of the war, for peace.

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Speech in the House of Lords, on the Duke of Bedford's Motion, January 27, 1795.

" My Lords,

" I SELDOM trouble Your Lordships, and I never do it without apprehension. I am fearful lest the public opinions of so retired and unconnected an individual as myself should be thought unworthy the attention of the House; and I am fearful also lest any interference in politics should, by some, be construed into a stepping out beyond the line of my profession. Occasions, however, of great national importance will sometimes occur; on these I shall always think it my duty to come forward, and I consider the present as one of them; I consider the junction of the marine of Holland to that of France as a danger of the greatest magnitude.

" We are unfortunately, My Lords, engaged in a war, which has frequently, and with great confidence, been called a just and necessary war; it is called so by the noble Secretary (Lord Grenville) in the amendment which he has this day made to the motion of the noble Duke. Men will differ greatly in their notions of the justice of war, according to the different views of the extent of moral and religious obligation. For my part, I consider the *justifiable* occasions of going to war to be few, very few indeed. I admit that war is not absolutely forbidden by the letter of the Christian religion; but I am persuaded, that when the spirit of Christianity shall exert its proper influence over the minds of individuals, and especially over the minds of public men, in their public capacities—over the minds of men constituting the councils of Princes, from whence are the issues of peace and war—when this happy period shall arrive, war will cease throughout the whole Christian world. And of this, My Lords, I am confident,

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that no war can be justified on any principle, either of revealed or of natural religion, till indemnity for past injury, and security against future aggression, have been demanded and refused; till every means of accommodation have been tried — *tried with a sincere disposition for preserving peace, and tried in vain.* Whether this principle was or was not properly attended to in the beginning of our differences with France, is better known to the King's ministers than to me. I am happy to hear from the noble Secretary, that it was. I have no wish to impeach any man's character; but I am not so ignorant of the law of nations, as not to know, that on the proper or improper attention which was paid to this principle, depends the justice or injustice of the war.

" I perceive, My Lords, that if I were fully to state to Your Lordships all my scruples concerning the justice and concerning the necessity of the war, — for they are distinct questions, since *a war may be just without being necessary, though it cannot be necessary without being just,* — I should trespass more than I ought to do on the patience of the House, especially as Your Lordships have long ago come to a determination on the question. To that determination I bow with respect, and quit the subject. I may be suffered, however, to remark, that in my opinion Great Britain, after the unsuccessful efforts of Prussia and Austria in the first campaign, nay, at any period before we had actually broken our neutrality, that Great Britain might have interposed her good offices between the contending parties, with great propriety, and with great probability of effect. She might have said to France, " Your fraternizing system must be given up, it disturbs the tranquillity of the world, it breaks asunder the bonds of all civil

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society; your ambition must be restrained, and your schemes of aggrandisement abandoned; neither *Savoy*, nor *Brabant*, nor *Holland*, not an acre of territory must you possess beyond what you possessed during the monarchy." This, My Lords, we in fact said by our deeds to France; but there we stopped: we did not add, as we ought to have done — France shall be at liberty to exercise the sacred right which belongs to her, and to every other independent state — the right of determining for herself the form of government by which she shall be ruled. Great Britain will not only respect this right, but she will endeavour to prevail on other nations to respect it also; she will endeavour to prevail on Prussia and Austria to withdraw their troops. This, My Lords, would have been a conduct worthy the magnanimity of a free nation. I may be told, that had the attempt been made, it would not have succeeded. But I have not that opinion of the political wisdom of any individual, to believe him on his bare assertion. I think it would, and for this reason — it would have been for the interest of all parties to have acceded to such an honourable mediation.

"With respect to the origin of the war, it is said to have arisen from a concert of Princes, confederated to dismember France, and to annihilate the liberty of Europe. Without farther proof than has yet come to light, I cannot believe this: I cannot, at least, admit for a moment, that the King of Great Britain would, either directly or indirectly, have given his consent to so nefarious a project; nay, I will do the minister of the country the justice to say, that I believe him to be wholly incapable of either proposing or patronising such a scheme.

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"That the war was begun by the Princes of the continent, and entered into by ourselves, with a view of stopping the propagation of democratic principles, is a proposition which I believe to be true. There may have been some other causes (to say nothing of pretences) for the war, but I take this to be the chief; nor do I see any dishonour in avowing it. Every government has within itself an inherent principle of self-preservation: from this principle springs a right of resisting every attempt which evidently tends to the subversion of established governments. But that war is either the only or the best means of impeding the progress of democratic principles, is certainly not a self-evident proposition; and, how assured soever some men may be of its truth, to me it is not a probable one; an unsuccessful war is more likely to accelerate than to impede the progress of democratic principles, and a successful war will not stop them. The history of the world informs us, that opinions are not subdued but confirmed by persecution; they are seated in the mind, and the mind is not susceptible of change from that coarse instrument of government — force. They yield to lenity, to reason, to experience; and in this enlightened state of Europe, the thrones of despotic monarchs will be better protected by a seasonable attention to popular requisition, by a relaxation of the reins of despotism, than by all the standing armies which they can collect around them.

"But let the ministers of the continental powers reason on the subject as they think fit, the minister of the King of Great Britain, or any other man who had access to him, might, with the greatest truth and honour, have said to him, and might still say to him,— "Sire, Your Majesty's situation is essentially different from that

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of the Princes of Germany, and from every other monarch in the world; you, and you alone, reign over a free people; you reign in the hearts of a loyal people by your personal virtues; and you reign in their hearts by a still stronger title to their regard. You are an essential constituent part of that constitution which they admire, for the establishment of which their ancestors shed their blood, and for the preservation of which they are ready to pour out their own. There may be a discontented body of men, but the cause of their discontent may be removed with perfect safety; there may be a few seditious incendiaries in your kingdom, for no kingdom is without them; but they are too inconsiderable in number, property, character, and connection, to afford any reasonable ground of alarm. The weighty arm of the law will crush the disturbers of the public peace; and the prodigious majority of the people, who detest a republic, will abash the propagators of opinions subversive of the constitution."

"I know not, My Lords, that the Royal mind was ever disturbed for a moment with personal apprehensions. I hope it was not; but if it was, I think, in my conscience, that it might have been tranquillised by a just representation of the superior situation in which His Majesty stands, when compared with that of every other monarch in the world. Arbitrary monarchs may tremble at the subversion of tyranny: the King of Great Britain has nothing to fear but from an attempt which, on my honour, I believe him perfectly incapable of making — from an attempt to subvert the liberty of his people.

"What, My Lords, is our *Magna Charta* and the Bill of Rights; is our *Trial by Jury*, which no constitutional man will vilify even in thought; is the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which no con-

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stitutional man will agree to suspend even for an hour, except in cases of extreme necessity; is the *integrity of our courts of justice*, a circumstance unparalleled in the annals of nations; is the *equality of law*, which unites in the same bond the peasant and the peer; is the *freedom of the press, the liberty of religion, the provision for the poor*,—are these, and innumerable other blessings, so little known, so ill appreciated by the people of Great Britain, as to render a foreign war necessary for the preservation of that constitution from which they are derived? No; I do not believe it; I will not say it, for in saying it I should calumniate the character of an enlightened people. There is no body of men, aristocratical or democratical, churchmen or dissenters, in this kingdom, which would wish to exchange our assizes and our sessions for revolutionary tribunals; our houses of parliament for committees of legislation and general safety; our beloved Monarch for a Robespierre! This nation has enjoyed, for near a century, much prosperity, much tranquillity, much civil, much religious liberty, under the mild and equitable government of the Princes of the House of Brunswick. Who but a madman would wish to risk the exchange of these blessings for he knows not what? would wish to exchange this illustrious family for the upstart progeny of some flagitious demagogue? Alarms of this kind are fit stuff to constitute the dreams of old women and children; they do not affect my mind. There are other causes of alarm, less obvious, but more portentous, which penetrate my heart. If any thing has happened in the course of this century which has lessened, or which tends to lessen, in the minds of the people, their confidence in the House of Commons, as uncorrupt and careful guardians of the public purse; if any thing has happened which

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has lessened, or which tends to lessen, in the mind of the people, their confidence in the House of Lords, as a wise and independent aristocracy, well calculated to protect the constitution from the encroachments of monarchy on the one hand and of democracy on the other; if any thing has happened which has lessened, or tends to lessen, in the minds of persons of all ranks, their veneration for religion — religion, My Lords, is the only sure basis of every government; for you may as well attempt to build a city without a foundation, as to preserve a state without religion — if any thing of this kind has happened, surely it becomes the legislature to advert to these things speedily, seriously, and dispassionately. I know there are many wise men who look upon our national vices, and constitutional defects, as irremediable evils, which will increase, till some dreadful catastrophe shall burst the imposthume, and cleanse the corruptions of the body politic. I am not of that desponding opinion; we are not yet arrived at that state of political profligacy which the Romans had reached, when their historian describes liberty and public probity succumbing under the corrupting influence of wealth and power; it cannot yet be truly said of us, as it was said of them — *Ad id perventum est ut nec vitia nec remedia pati possumus.*

" The wisdom of this and the other House, co-operating with the wisdom of the King, may find remedies for all our evils. We are still a wealthy, a brave, and a free people. Let us keep our wealth at home for our own occasions; let us exert our bravery at home in our own defence; and let us be watchful of our own liberties, and sincerely willing to participate our freedom with every nation under heaven, and we shall have nothing to fear from all the republics in the world.

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" What is there so enchanting in republics, that we should be apprehensive lest the people of this country should be seduced from their attachment to the constitution, by contemplating the republic of France! In its present state it is an object of terror and abhorrence to every man, however exalted, however abject his condition. In the present aristocratical republics of Europe, every one who knows any thing of the subject, knows that the freedom we enjoy is not enjoyed in them. In the democratical republics of ancient times, and especially in that of Athens, we may see something like a prototype of the French republic: it was a dreadful tyranny exercised by pestilent men, through the instrumentality of the multitude,—exercised over valour, learning, justice, (for even Aristides fell,) over every thing that was great and excellent among mankind.

" But I shall be told, that the representative republics of America and France are essentially different from all republics of either ancient or modern times; that they are machines of government built upon a new construction. Be it so; I cannot now stop to examine either their excellencies or defects; it is enough for my argument, it is enough for the people of England to know, that they are new; their novelty renders them suspicious; when these machines shall have gone on for a century, as well as their most sanguine admirers can expect, it may be soon enough then for our posterity to examine, whether the people enjoy under them more solid blessings than they themselves will then, I trust, enjoy under the present constitution of Great Britain.

" My Lords, we are all agreed; I do not by *all*, mean every individual in the kingdom; but I do mean all the individuals, without exception, in both Houses of Parliament; and a vast

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majority of the people out of parliament are agreed in the pursuit of the same object; and that object is, the preservation of the constitution. I give equal credit to all parties on this head, and I should think myself destitute of candour and of justice, if I did not. I know, My Lords, that the connections (I speak not of the leaders of both parties) transgress all bounds of moderation in their judgments of each other. The adherents of administration endeavour to exhibit the opposers of public measures, as men hostile to the peace and tranquillity of the country; as men of *republican principles;* as secret subverters of the constitution. The adherents of opposition endeavour to represent the ministers of the Crown, and the majorities in parliament, as men destitute of public probity, careless of the public safety, and anxious for nothing but the preservation of their places and the accumulation of riches and titles. This, My Lords, is not a time—indeed, there is no time for it—but this especially is not a time to struggle for the retention, or for the acquisition of power by calumny and misrepresentation. We are all agreed that the constitution ought to be preserved; we differ as to the means of preserving it. Some are of opinion, that the republic of France must, at every risk, be destroyed, lest its establishment should be followed by the subversion of every monarchy in Europe, and of our own amongst the rest. Others see no probability of such a consequence; can discover no connection of cause and effect between the establishment of a republic in France, and the subversion of the subsisting governments in other countries. On the contrary, they are of opinion, that the miseries which the French have hitherto experienced, and which, *if left to themselves*, they probably would continue to experience under a republican government, would, in a

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few years, make them, as similar evils made our ancestors, revert to some species of monarchy, and would effectually deter every other people from following their example.

"It would be an indication of great boldness in the most consummate statesman; it would be arrogance and presumption in me, peremptorily to determine which of these two opinions was most founded in truth. I am inclined, after considering the matter with perfect impartiality, and with the best ability which God has given me, to adopt the latter.

"I find fault with no man for differing in opinion from me on any subject; and, I trust those noble personages (Duke of Portland, &c.) whose political principles I have been through life accustomed to revere, and of whose political as well as private probity I entertain the highest opinion, will find no fault with me for differing from them on this important occasion. If my opinion had been wavering, I would have suppressed it;—it is decided, and I think it my duty to declare it. My decided judgment is, that the establishment of a Republic in France will not endanger the constitution of Great Britain; and I am further of opinion, *that a perseverance in shutting the door of negociation, in prosecuting an expensive war, will shake the stability of the throne, and endanger the independence of the nation.*

"But it will be urged,—a declaration of our disposition for peace will be a degrading and an humiliating measure. I look upon it in another light. I consider it as a Christian effort of an humane people to put a stop to the effusion of human blood.—But it will be a fruitless overture;—no man can tell what fruit it will produce; it may not produce peace, but it will be attended by two consequences, either of which is of sufficient importance

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to induce us to make the trial; it will diminish animosity abroad, and it will lessen discontent at home.

The French are animated to madness against this nation. I enquire not into the cause; the fact is certain: but when they hear that we are ready to treat with them, they will know that the calamities which they suffer are not of our creating, and if the overture is rejected, the people of Great Britain will know that the burdens which they sustain are unavoidable. But there will be a want of *firmness* in changing our system. A perseverance, My Lords, in measures originally wrong, is not magnanimity, but obstinacy; a perseverance in measures originally right, but which circumstances have rendered probably unattainable, is not a mark of wisdom but of folly. It was a mistaken idea of the dignity of firmness which lost America to this country; it was the same mistaken idea of the dignity of firmness, in not attending to the just complaints of the people, which has broken the golden pillars of the church, and tumbled into ruins the throne of France. Let us grow wise from our own experience, and from observing the misfortunes of others.

"But shall we suffer the bloody tyrants of the Convention, and their no less bloody associates in every province, town, and village of France, to escape unpunished? I like not harsh language on any occasion; it tends only to widen differences: but those men are not answerable for their conduct to us; their own nation are their judges; nor will they escape unpunished, though they fall not by the axe of the executioner; to the justice of God we commit them; or rather, as becomes peccable men to say, to his infinite mercy we commend them;

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may He grant them repentance, and forgive the enormity of their sin!

"But the resources of France are exhausted, ours are still great, and one campaign more will finish the business with success. All this is assertion, without proof; it is an improbable prophecy: but admit it to be true in all its parts, let us see what will follow; for it is a main part of deliberative wisdom to respect the end of measures.

"Suppose, then, the unfortunate Louis to be placed, by our efforts, on the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by his nobles in the plentitude of their ancient privilege; the bastile re-erected, and the people of France,—(Heaven avert that part of the event!)—once more crouching under the rod of despotic power, what advantage will Great Britain derive from this change? The King of France cannot restore to us thousands and tens of thousands of gallant men, who have perished in the contest; nor will he send us a colony of his subjects to replace the numbers which the state has lost. Will he repay into the Exchequer of Great Britain the millions, and tens of millions, which have been expended, or tax his own people, in order to ease our shoulders from the burdens we must sustain on his account?—No; whatever may be his gratitude, he will not have the ability to do this. Will he give up his West-India islands to indemnify us for our losses? No, he will not rob his crown of so bright a jewel; his people will not suffer it; Spain will not permit it; Holland, if she is allowed a voice, will exclaim against it; all the powers of Europe, already too envious of our prosperity, too jealous of our greatness, (I verily believe we have not one cordial friend in Europe,) they will all

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conspire to prevent our receiving such an additional source of naval and commercial strength. I profess I do not see any probability of our ever regaining a single guinea of what we have spent, though the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy, or of a limited monarchy, should by our means be effected to-morrow. But, I may be told, that the war was begun, and is continued, not so much for the re-establishment of the French monarchy, as for the security of our own.

" I have already delivered my opinion so explicitly on the little connection there is between the establishment of a republic in France, and the subversion of the English constitution, that I will not dwell on this point any longer.

" But this is a war of religion against atheism and infidelity. Gracious God! how great is the presumption of us, miserable mortals! The Almighty Creator and Conservator of the Universe wanteth not the arm of flesh to secure the reality of his existence, or the honour of his laws. He gave a commission to the Israelites to exterminate the Canaanites for their wickedness and idolatry; but he hath given none to us, or to the Princes of Europe, to exterminate the French for their cruelty and infidelity. Vengeance, as a noble Duke rightly observed, and with a sense of religion which adds honour to his rank, vengeance belongeth not to man; or, in the words of scripture, " Vengeance is mine, I will repay," saith the Lord.

" Allow me, My Lords, for a moment, a word on the subject of French infidelity; it certainly will not be a word of excuse or extenuation; it will be a word of comfort and consolation to every sincere believer in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I am then, My Lords, full of hope, full of expectation, grounded on some

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knowledge of the Scriptures, that this abandonment of all religion in France will be followed in due time, in the time known only to the *Ancient of Days*, by the establishment of a purer system of Christianity than has ever taken place in that country, or perhaps in any other country, since the age of the Apostles. Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot, and the rest of the philosophers in France, and perhaps I may say many in our own country, have mistaken the corruptions of Christianity for Christianity itself, and in spurning the yoke of superstition have overthrown religion. They are in the condition of men described by Plutarch; they have fled from superstition, have leapt over religion, and sunk into atheism. They will be followed by future Newtons and by future Lockes who will rebuild, with more than mortal strength and beauty, the altars which the others have polluted and thrown down; for they will found them on the pure and unadorned rock of Christian verity, and the attacks of infidels shall no more prevail against them.

" I beg pardon for this digression, (and I am sure I shall be forgiven it, when I consider the attention with which the House, participating in his feelings, listened to the noble Secretary of State, when he described, with so much truth, the present irreligion of France,) and return to the subject of debate. My opinion is, that we should make the most vigorous preparations for war by land and sea, and especially by sea; that these preparations should be accompanied with a *real* disposition for peace. Thus prepared, and thus disposed, we may boldly say to France, " Peace or war; take your choice." Let not our enemies triumph at this declaration, or mistake our meaning. We wish for peace, but we wish for it on their account, on the account of

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general humanity, as much as on our own. We wish for peace, but we are prepared for war; we are neither disheartened by their successes, nor intimidated by their menaces; our resources are not exhausted, our courage is not subdued. They build much upon our divisions; they will find us not divided in resisting them. Would to God that my voice could reach the Convention, when I say, that the people is with the crown, and that the crown is with the people, and that both are with the constitution. All parties are united, all good men are combined, — to do what? To support the throne. — What else? To maintain the aristocracy. — What else? To protect the people themselves from the insidious machinations of their own demagogues, from the bloody tyranny of French fraternities.

" My Lords, I have done. I have delivered a plain and honest opinion; I am not attached to any party, though I find no fault with those who are. Parties, I acknowledge, may be formed, maintained, and broken on honourable terms; but I know not how it has happened, except from the narrow views of a collegiate life, it has never suited my notions of public probity to become a party-man. I beg on this head to be clearly understood; I have no wish to see the present pilots driven from the helm; I simply wish them to change their course. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me who steers the vessel of the state, provided it is steered with ability. The storm with which it is threatened is new in kind, and unparalleled in degree; hitherto we have only heard its whistling from afar; it may soon approach our coasts, and scatter tremendous and undistinguished ruin over the whole land. May blessing from God, reward from the King, gratitude from the country, fall upon the head of that man, of whatever

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party he may be, who shall conduct us into port with safety and with honour! My Lords, I have trespassed too long on your time. I conclude with giving my hearty concurrence to the motion of the noble Duke."

Previously to this speech, the Duke of Portland and some others, *whose political principles I had, through life, been accustomed to revere*, became supporters of Mr. Pitt's measures, and it was generally expected that I should have joined this second (unprincipled I thought it) great coalition. I had always protested against being a party-man, and this speech effectually silenced those who, measuring other men by their own standard, had questioned the sincerity of my avowal of parliamentary independence.

In the following summer I published a Charge and two Sermons, one of them entitled "Atheism and Infidelity refuted from Reason and Scripture;" the other, "The Christian Religion no Imposture." These sermons were at their first publication of some use in confirming the faith of the wavering, and they may always be serviceable for that purpose, as they appear to me, on a re-examination, to be solidly written.

In the beginning of the year 1796, I published "An Apology for the Bible," being a defence of that Holy Book against the scurrilous abuse of Thomas Paine. This little book, I have reason to believe, was of singular service in stopping that torrent of irreligion which had been excited by his writings. *David Dale* of *Paisley*, (I mention his name to his honour, his person I never

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saw,) asked my permission, which was most readily granted, to print three thousand copies, to be distributed amongst his own workmen; many thousands were printed also at Dundee, and in other places of Scotland and England at a small price, without any profit or wish of profit to myself.

I received many pleasing letters from individuals acknowledging the benefit they had derived from the perusal of the Apology; nor was its utility confined to Great Britain, as may appear from the following letters from America and from Ireland:—

"My Lord,

"Deeply impressed with a grateful sense of the blessings derived to the Christian world, by your eminent abilities being so frequently employed in defending its cause against the virulent attacks from its enemies, particularly in your excellent defence of Christianity against the writings of Thomas Paine, the Convention of the Episcopal Church of Connecticut, at their meeting in October last, directed me to address you in a letter of thanks for the same.

"The reputation which that writer had obtained in this country by his political pieces during the American Revolution, and the great lukewarmness and indifferency towards the Christian Revelation visible among too many of our citizens, were very alarming circumstances, and led us to apprehend some ill effects from his writings: but happily for us, and we trust for the world at large, that so able a champion for Christianity has again taken the field, and so successfully combated its enemies. Happy we are to find that your excellent defence has (in this country), in a good

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degree, strengthened the faithful, confirmed the doubtful, roused the indifferent, and silenced the gainsayer. And we have reason to believe that it will, by the blessing of God, be a means of checking that spirit of infidelity among us, which has produced such horrid scenes of distress in a powerful nation of Europe.

" Be pleased, My Lord, to accept the thanks of the Convention, with their earnest prayers that God of his goodness and love for the church may direct you in all things for the good of the same; that his name may be glorified, and the number of the people daily increased, and rejoice in the salvation of Jesus. — In behalf of the Convention, I am, My Lord, with sentiments of regard and esteem, and with wishes for your temporal and eternal happiness,

" Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

" Astobed Baldwin,

" Rector of Christ's Church, Stratford, and Secretary to the Convention.

" Done by order of the Convention,

" Richard Mansfield, President.

" Stratford in Connecticut, Nov. 18. 1796."

" My Lord, Dublin, Sept. 1796.

" We are directed, by an association in this city, formed for the express purpose of discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of religion and virtue, to transmit to Your Lordship a copy of the following resolution :—

" ' At a meeting of the Association for discountenancing Vice, ' and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of Religion and ' Virtue, on Wednesday the first of September, 1796,—

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" ' Resolved unanimously, That the Association, deeply sensible ' of the zeal and ability with which the Lord Bishop of Landaff ' has so frequently stood forth the powerful defender of the ' Christian cause, in opposition to the attacks of infidel authors, ' and particularly those of Thomas Paine, request His Lordship's ' acceptance of their unanimous thanks.'

" We are also directed to transmit to Your Lordship a copy of three sermons which have been preached before the Association since its commencement, from whence Your Lordship will be able to form a general idea of their views, and the modes by which they have endeavoured to carry them into effect.

" We have the honour to be,

" Your Lordship's obedient, very humble servants,

J. MAXWELL,
RICHARD WYNNE, } Secretaries.

In February, 1796, I sent to Mr. Pitt the following note:—

" Dear Sir,

" I WAS much pleased with what I read of your speech the other night respecting the poor-laws, and hearing accidentally to-day that you mean to bring forward something on the general subject, I hope you will forgive my troubling you with a thought which has long been in my mind, but which I have never attempted to form into a system, as I was doubtful whether any thing could be made of it, and certain that, however feasible the project might be, it was not in my power to give it effect.

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" Let the average of the poor-rates in every parish in the kingdom be taken for the last seven years; let each parish be saddled for ever with the payment of that average; let the poor be considered as the poor of the public at large, and be every where maintained out of the fund thus arising: if the fund should be more than sufficient for this purpose, let the surplus go towards the reduction of the national debt; if it should be less, let the deficiency be made up from the public grants.

" By these means the expenses attending litigations concerning settlements and removals of the poor would be at an end: vagrancy also would be at an end; for wherever an idle fellow appeared, he might be set to work either in an house of correction or in a school of industry.

" I need not dilate on this subject, your penetration will see at once whether the thought can be of service.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Pitt, soon after this, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons, relative to the maintenance and the management of the poor; he sent me a copy of the bill, which I returned to him, with observations upon it; but it came to nothing, and, indeed, it did not appear to me to have been well considered. Humanity impels us as men, and our religion lays an additional obligation on us as Christians, to relieve the wants of the poor; but they oblige us to do this in such a way as to afford no encouragement to idleness, no temptation to profligacy, no excuse for inconsideration. The present state of our poor is a disgrace to our polity. He would be a statesman, really worthy of a statue, who could

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devise the means of bettering the morals, augmenting the comforts, and lessening the expense of maintaining the poor.

I sent to the Duke of Grafton the following letter, on his having desired my opinion concerning a project, then in agitation, respecting a number of Peers going in a body to the King to counsel His Majesty to open a negotiation with France: —

" My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth Park, June 6. 1796.

" Since the receipt of Your Grace's letter on Friday last, I have done nothing but think of the subject of it; and I feel still some hesitation of judgment as to the propriety or impropriety of the measure mentioned in it.

" That Mr. Fox ought not to be consulted, or made acquainted with the plan, is evident to me, not only out of regard to himself, but lest his interference might render the measure more exceptionable in the estimation of the court and of the people than it otherwise would be. For though Mr. Fox ought to be esteemed by both as highly as any man in the country, yet it is certain that he is not, at present, so esteemed by either.

" With respect to the measure itself, the first thing to be considered is — What precedents there are of a small number of Peers going in a body to offer their advice to the King: — admitting that precedents may be found, are the precedents in good times and fully in point? Admitting the precedental propriety of the measure, may not the King make a reply to the following purport: — 'I take in good part this interposition of your advice, believing that it proceeds from loyalty to me, and zeal for the public good. All such acts of my government, as have originated

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in the constitutional exercise of my prerogative, have been sanctioned by the authority of my parliament. All such measures as have originated in parliament, and been recommended to me by its wisdom, have received my approbation. These acts and these measures have excited your apprehensions for the general safety, and you counsel me to change the plan of my government: now I recommend this question to your dispassionate deliberation, —Whether a King of Great Britain will best discharge his duty to his people, in listening to the *secret* advice of a few individuals, or in following the public wisdom of the great council of the nation? You may tell me that the parliament is venal, and gives me corrupt advice. This crimination cannot be admitted without proof; if proved, it is such a defect of principle as must end in the ruin of the constitution; you may rely on my concurrence with you to remove it.'

" Something of this kind might properly be said by the King, and, whether said or not, it will be thought by many, and not only by many, but by a great majority of the people; for the nation has been so completely alarmed, that it is not yet adverse to the present system of government.

" Your Grace will perceive that my opinion is not for the measure. At first view, I approved it: but, on weighing every thing, I lean to the other side. Had the country been brought into its present state by the cabals of a junto, in opposition to the sense of the people, either within the doors of the House of Commons or without them, the measure would have had a propriety belonging to it which it has not now. My judgment, however, in things of this sort, is as nothing: I daily wish more and more to relinquish all interference in politics; the malady which

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attacks the constitution (influence of the crown) is without remedy; violent applications might be used; their success would be doubtful, and I for one never wish to see them tried.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

In the course of this year Sir John Dalrymple sent me a letter, dated Addiscombe Place, 25th April, 1797, from the Earl of Liverpool to him, from which I subjoin the following extract: " As " this letter will find you at the Bishop of Landaff's, pray ask " him if he has yet read the 'Memoire pour servir à l'Histoire de " Jacobinism,' by the Abbè Barruel; it is a book which contains " excellent information, and discloses more of the wicked pro- " jects of the French philosophers, and of those who were called " economists, than was ever known before. The Abbè Barruel " is to publish a third volume, which will disclose the secret his- " tory of the German illuminés; this book has very considerable " merit, though it savours, in some parts of it, of the prejudices " of a French ecclesiastic; for the author (as I am informed) " was educated to be a Jesuit, but the order having been de- " stroyed before he was admitted into it, he became a *regular* " priest, and at the beginning of the revolution emigrated into " England, and has ever since resided in London. He writes, " however, with more liberality than one should have expected " from a person of this description. I sincerely wish, that some " Protestant writer would take the trouble of clothing the in- " formation and the arguments contained in the book in a Pro- " testant dress, adding to them such of his own as may occur to " him. No one could perform a service of this kind so well as the

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" Bishop of Landaff; and he would render thereby an essential ser-
" vice, not only to his countrymen, but to the world in general."

I was far from thinking this hint from Lord Liverpool unworthy of my notice; but on considering the subject attentively, I found I could not heartily undertake it, for I could not clothe some of either the political principles or the religious tenets of the Abbè Barruel in any Protestant dress which would not displease myself, and every other disciple of Mr. Locke. I was not, moreover, disposed to give full credit to what had been asserted, the existence of a conspiracy among the philosophers of France and the illuminés of Germany to pull down altars and thrones. I saw, indeed, and I had long seen, that the progress of literature and the cultivation of science had, in every country, roused into activity the human intellect, and spurred it to shake off the shackles of superstition and the chains of arbitrary power. I saw, too, that (as might have been expected) some precipitate and self-sufficient spirits would outrage common sense, and, in overstepping the bounds of sober investigation, would cease to distinguish the Christian religion from its corruptions, and equitable government from continental despotism.

I sent the following letter to Mr. Pitt on the 7th of April, 1797, and it probably suggested to him the principle of a new system of finance,—the raising the supplies within the year:—

" Dear Sir, Great George-Street, 7th April, 1797.

" Notwithstanding the stoppage of the Bank, my indecision as to the expediency of relinquishing Holland and Belgium to

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France, or continuing the war, remains unaltered. As a perseverance, however, in the war seems to be determined on, I beg you would allow me the liberty of an old acquaintance, to interrupt your speculations for a moment, whilst I state to you my *serious* and *sincere* sentiments on our present situation.

" I consider Great Britain, acting on the defensive, as a match in number of men to France acting on the offensive. For though the population of France may be three times as great as that of Great Britain, yet our insular situation will compensate the excess.

" France can bring into the field, by requisition, all her men capable of bearing arms, and she can pay them by a requisition of any part, or of the whole of the capital of the country. Great Britain cannot be a match for France in this respect, unless she adopts similar modes of exerting her strength. All her men must become soldiers, and all her property must be pledged for the maintenance of her forces. Unless this is done, though our numbers may be *equivalent* to those of France, yet we must at last become her inferiors.

" Whether a greater number of men can, with safety, be taken from the agriculture and the manufactures of the country, I pretend not to determine, but I fear it cannot. Men, however, may be had from other countries, if money can be procured here, and that money may be procured here I have no doubt; but I do not wish it to be procured by the ordinary way of loan, or by the more *exceptionable* way of voluntary contribution.

" I am, in the present situation of the country, an enemy to palliatives and half-measures; the nation knows its distress, and is both able, and, I think, willing to meet it with fortitude. Let

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an act of parliament be passed calling for a twentieth, or any other requisite part of every man's property, whether it consists in land, or houses, or money vested in the funds, or lent on mortgage or bond, in stock in trade, in cattle, goods, chattels of every kind. Paupers alone should be exempted from this contribution, which, being just in its principle, and general in its operation, would be abundantly productive.

"This, or a measure such as this, is not unsuited to the enterprise of your spirit; the circumstances of the nation require extraordinary exertion, and, in the present temper of the people, I am of opinion that it would not be an unpopular measure. But if you should even unsuccessfully risk your situation by trying it, you would retire with honour, with having made a noble effort to restore the energy, the credit, and the consequence of the country.

"I think something of this kind, properly digested by your wisdom, would be attended with public security, and with private advantage; for the public debt is an heavy and vexatious load on each man's property, from which both his interest and his comfort must prompt him to disencumber himself and his posterity.

"The whole, or (if it should be thought expedient to retain a part), the greatest portion of the national debt would by this mean be discharged; a great part of the most oppressive taxes would be done away, the expense attending the collection of them would be saved, the *corrupting influence* of the Crown would be diminished, the poor-rates would be reduced. France, astonished at our magnanimity, would accede to proper conditions of peace, and every nation in Europe would tremble in future at the

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idea of involving itself in a war with so high-spirited a nation and which, in addition to their patriotism, had a fresh credit for three or four hundred millions at the commencement of hostilities.

" I know well in how little estimation the sentiments of individuals are held in your judgment; but I wish, in this day of danger, to discharge my own particular duty, and I think I do it better by this private suggestion, than by a public declaration of my opinion in parliament, being sensible that, if the hint is a good one, it may through your influence have its proper effect, and that it can have no effect without it.

" This sacrifice, which I recommend, of individual property to public exigency, is, unquestionably, a great one; but if paid by instalments in two or three years, it would not be much felt. Considering the number of my children, it would fall as heavily, in proportion to my fortune, on myself as on any other man, yet I would make it with thanks to the minister who should compel me and *all* others to submit to it; being convinced that the country cannot be economically, equitably, and permanently saved without it. I go into Westmoreland in ten days, but I cannot leave town without giving you this trouble, for which I beg your pardon, and am with great respect,

" Your faithful servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

In the following November, Mr. Pitt avoided having recourse to a loan, by what were called Assessed taxes; and soon after by having recourse to a partial tax on income. Both these schemes of finance were ineffective even for the *little* end for which he

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designed them, — the raising supplies for the war. Their inefficiency proceeded principally from their falling wholly on the higher classes, which are never numerous in any country. The income tax was not levied on persons possessing sixty pounds a-year or under, nor did the assessed taxes reach such persons, so that by much the largest part of the community, whether we judge from their number or their property, paid nothing by these schemes of the minister. As to the difficulty of coming at every man's property, a mathematical precision cannot be expected in such a business, nor is it obtained at present, in the mode of assessing income, though the inquisition into it is sufficiently oppressive and disgusting, and such as a free nation tolerates from no principle but from a regard still remaining for the constitution. I hope that the increasing pressure of taxation may never alienate that regard. A wise government should think of this in time, and, by one great effort of finance, combined with subsequent economy, remove the cause of increasing discontent, and retard the approach of final ruin.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

" My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth Park, Oct. 10th, 1797.

" The nation is not yet sick of the war. The country-gentlemen have been alarmed for their property, and they still think it better to part with an half, than to be plundered of the whole. I should certainly agree with them, could I see the necessity of admitting the existence of the alternative; but as I never saw the least notion of danger to this country from the Revolution in France, I cannot now think it a prudent system to spend the last

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guinea in prosecution of a project which ought never to have been commenced.

"We ought to have peace even upon the condition of relinquishing our conquests, because if we continue the war, we shall run a great risk of adding a British republic to those of Italy and Germany. Peace almost at any rate is my wish; for if once the fever of republicanism subsides, it will never more be excited in France, or propagated through the rest of Europe; at least its subsidence will give time to all established governments to remedy their defects, without having recourse to revolutions.

"In thus speaking for peace, I rather attend to my judgment than to the proud impulses of my heart, which prompt me to bid defiance to France, and to fight stoutly in restraining her ambition. Indecision and temerity of judgment are equally beneath the character of a statesman; I pretend not to such a character, but I am puzzled how to act. Did I know that during the late negotiation we were plotting against France, I should in the most unequivocal terms condemn the conduct of administration; did I know that we were innocent as to that charge, and that France aimed at destroying our consequence as a nation, all I have should be willingly given up to the disposal of the executive government. I might think that wiser measures might have been adopted than what are at present followed; but I would acquiesce, and give my feeble assistance to administration, lest in withdrawing it I should, in some degree, contribute to the ruin of the country.

"As to the seceders attending or not attending the meeting of parliament, they should certainly act in concert, whatever determination they come to. I am not capable of giving advice in so great a question; but as I am always ready, when called upon,

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to say what I think, I will own to Your Grace that my opinion is, they ought to attend in a body, and to move on the same day, (on the first day of meeting if possible,) in both Houses, for all papers relative to the negotiation to be laid before parliament, and, if the papers are refused, to attend no more. This I think would be a conduct consistent with their dignity, and more likely than a total absence to rouse all thinking men into an apprehension for the general safety.

" Your kind invitation is highly acceptable to Mrs. Watson, and all my family, but I have no thoughts of quitting this place till after Christmas. We are now in the middle of our harvest, but all the hay is not yet gotten in. We have a more determined season of rainy and of fair weather in this county than in most parts of England; at least I know not that the following observation has ever been made in any other county, and I myself only made it the other day, from some tables of the quantity of rain which had fallen in every month for seven years on an average: the accuracy of the tables is unquestionable, and the inference I made from them is this:—That if the whole year be resolved into three parts, June, July, August, September,—October, November, December, January,—February, March, April, May,—the *proportions* of the quantities which fall in these respective parts will be as 11, 9, 5; so that we have more than twice as much rain in the summer as in the spring months.

" I am Your Grace's most faithful and ever obliged servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

On the 20th of January, 1798, I published an address to the people of Great Britain. It was generally thought to be of great

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service in raising the spirit of the nation. It went through fourteen editions in London, as speedily as they could be published, and many pirated editions were published in other parts of Great Britain. Government here, as I was informed, (for they had not the good manners to ask my consent,) printed and dispersed it gratis. From Lord Camden, the then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I received the following letter: —

" My dear Lord,

" You must allow a very old friend and acquaintance to express the very great satisfaction he has received, from the perusal of your address to the people of Great Britain. It has been sent to me, and I think it is calculated to do more good than any publication which has appeared. I have therefore ordered it to be printed and distributed in the kingdom; and I heartily wish that there were men within it, who could so address a people that are not so misguided that they may not be reformed by good advice addressed to them and high national spirit being infused into them.

" I beg you to believe me, My dear Lord,

" Your most obedient servant,

" CAMDEN.

" Dublin Castle, Jan. 31. 1798."

I was induced to write this address, from reflecting on the miserable situation in which the finance of the country then was; from observing the preparations of the French to execute their menace of *destroying Carthage;* and from an anxious desire to oppose the progress of a spurious philosophy, producing irreli-

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gion and sedition among the lowest orders. On this and on other occasions some violent men, whose views of political and ecclesiastical reform extended far beyond mine, were filled with resentment against me, reproaching me with having changed my principles, and deserted the cause. This accusation was wholly without foundation; for my principles were not republican principles, nor was my cause their cause.

I paid no attention to this malevolence; for in the following June, having heard that there were discontents and seditious tendencies in my own diocese, I pursued the subject of my address, in a Charge, which the clergy requested me to publish; and in August, I received, from Sir Robert Salusbury, the subjoined copy of an order of the court of quarter-sessions for the county of Monmouth: —

"At a general quarter-sessions of the peace, held at Usk, in the county of Monmouth, before Sir Robert Salusbury, Baronet, Thomas Evans, William Jenkins, William Harrison, Samuel Rosser, Thomas Hooper, John Kemys, Gardner Kemys, Fowler Walker, Richard Lewis, William Phillips, Esquires, and Francis Davies, and John Williams, Clerks.

"Ordered,

"That application be made by the Chairman, to the Lord Bishop of Landaff, requesting His Lordship to publish his excellent Charge to the Clergy, on his last visitation, that the Magistrates may have an opportunity of distributing it in their respective neighbourhoods, as the best lesson against imbibing the delusive

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principles of French Liberty; convinced as they are, that this publication, at this particular conjuncture, will have a good effect in every county as well as in this."

I thought it my duty to comply with a request so handsomely made to me, and published two editions of the Charge, in the latter end of the year 1798. Five years afterwards, an attention to this Charge was revived, by a bookseller (without my knowledge) having published the whole, or the greatest part of it, printed on a single sheet, and sold at a trifling price. On this occasion, I received from a Nobleman I had very little acquaintance with, the following letter:—

"My Lord, Piccadilly, Aug. 16. 1803.

"Though I have very little the honour of Your Lordship's acquaintance, I hope that you will excuse the trouble of this letter, to beg you will receive with indulgence my thanks and high approbation of your most excellent Address to your Clergy. My thanks and approbation would be of little value to Your Lordship, but from their sincerity, if I was not sure, that I am at the same time expressing the feeling and sentiments of every honest and loyal person in the kingdom. I hope that your Address will be universally read by all people, and every where, as I am firmly persuaded it will have the greatest effect, and do more good than any thing that has been said in parliament or any where else, on this subject.

"I am, My Lord, with the highest respect,

"Your most faithful and obedient servant,

"Queensberry."

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These publications of mine had excited the displeasure of Mr. Wakefield, (one of the first scholars of the age,) and, unfortunately for himself, he published a pamphlet against them. The administration prosecuted him for some expressions in his pamphlet, which they thought were seditious, and he was fined and imprisoned. I took some pains to prevent this prosecution, thinking the liberty of the press to be the palladium of the constitution; but I did not succeed in my endeavours; nor did the ministry acquire any credit from their overwatchfulness. I received from Mr. Wakefield the following letter: —

" My Lord,

" As my trial will take place some time from the 12th to the 20th of next month, and Mr. Fox's Libel Bill makes these causes almost wholly a question of character and veracity, it might be materially serviceable to me, if, from your knowledge of me through Mr. Tyrwhitt and otherwise, you were able to give a favourable opinion with respect to the sincerity and conscientiousness of my conduct in general, without any reference to political and religious sentiments. Your Lordship's answer will much oblige

" Your obedient servant,

" *Hackney, Jan.* 29. 1799. " GILBERT WAKEFIELD."

My Answer.

" Sir, Great George-Street, Jan. 31. 1799.

" I CANNOT think that it will be in my power, how much soever it will be in my inclination, to serve you on your trial,

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since, to the best of my knowledge, I never either saw or spoke to you in my life. That Mr. Tyrwhitt did esteem you I know, and I have no reason to believe that he does not continue to esteem you; but on this point I cannot speak with certainty, not having seen Mr. Tyrwhitt for several years. Of one thing I am well persuaded, that Mr. Tyrwhitt is incapable of esteeming any man whose moral character will not bear the strictest scrutiny. I join with the world in admiring your talents: I have not the shadow of ill-will to you on account of your attack on my pamphlet, and shall sincerely rejoice at your being extricated from your present difficulty.

" I am your obedient servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

In January, 1799, I received from the Archbishop of Canterbury a paper which had been sent to him by Mr. Pitt, and was desired to deliver my opinion on the subject. The paper contained a plan for the sale of the tithe of the country, on the same principle that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of parliament. It was proposed, that the money arising from the sale of the tithe should be vested in the funds in aid of public credit, and the clergy were to receive their income from the funds; the income, however, was not to be a fixed income which could never be augmented, but was to be so adjusted as, at different periods, to admit an increase according to the advance in the price of grain. This plan was not introduced into parliament: it met, I believe, with private opposition from the bishops, though I own it had my approbation; but that approbation was founded on very different principles from that of

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aiding public credit; I did not indeed clearly see how, if the full value was given for the tithe, that credit would be assisted thereby. I remember having said to Mr. Arthur Young on the occasion, that I for one never would give my consent, and that I thought the houses of parliament never would give theirs to the sale of the tithe, unless its full value was paid for it. "Then," said he, "there is an end of the whole business; for unless the people in the west, who are now most clamorous against tithe, are allowed to purchase at the price they now pay by composition, they will on their knees beg Mr. Pitt to let things continue as they are." I sent to the Archbishop the following observations on the proposed plan, to be communicated to Mr. Pitt: —

"The Bishop of Landaff is of opinion, that an income arising from the funds will neither be so *permanently* secure, nor so *independent*, as one arising from tithe.

"He is further of opinion, that the proposed change will much augment the influence of the Crown; which augmentation, he conceives, will be ultimately ruinous alike to the just prerogative of the Crown, and the liberty of the subject.

"Notwithstanding these distant and contingent dangers, he approves of the plan, on the ground of its tendency to amend the morals of the people, by extinguishing the discontents often subsisting between the clergy and their parishioners, on account of tithes, and on the principle of its promoting the agriculture of the kingdom.

"He considers the particulars of the plan as well arranged in general; but he thinks that a *fair* valuation of the great and small tithes of each living should be made by proper commis-

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sioners; apprehending that the mode adopted, when enclosures are made, is not applicable to lands now in tillage, and destitute of commons.

" He does not see that the abolition of tithes, on the enclosures of commons, (*in futuro,*) is taken into consideration.

" He wishes that some provision might be made for the recovery of tithes which are now due by law, though the right to them may not, for various reasons, have yet been prosecuted.

" He is desirous that the following points may be ascertained, before the measure is submitted to parliament: —

" 1st, What number of parishes in the kingdom are now entirely exempted from the tithe of corn and hay?

" 2d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of the *parochial clergy?*

" 3d, In what number of parishes, subject to the afore-mentioned tithes, are the tithes in the possession of spiritual or lay corporations?"

I heard no more of this matter. If ever it is resumed, it will be proper to obtain accurate answers to the three questions here proposed, that it may appear how small a part of the grievance of tithes is attributable to the parochial clergy. In the answer to the petitions which were exhibited to parliament and Cromwell, for the taking away of tithes in 1652, it is said — " There are in England and Wales 9,725 parishes; and, though the one half of these rectories were not appropriated as to the number, yet certainly as to the yearly values, the ministers at this day have not one half of the profits of the tithes of corn and grain."

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If acts of parliament for enclosing commons and open fields go on for twenty years more, as they have done for twenty years past, the grievance of tithe will be almost wholly done away; as in these acts the lay and spiritual owners of tithes generally acquiesce in receiving a portion of land in lieu of their right of tithe.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

" My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth, Aug. 25. 1798.

" It made me happy to hear that your Bath expedition was become unnecessary for you at present, and I hope it will be many years before it will be requisite for you to have recourse to the waters there. You know what a sad infidel I am with respect to medicine in general, and cannot therefore suppose that I place any more confidence in mineral than in elementary water, though I do place a little more in both than in half the drugs of the *Materia Medica.*

" I can have no backwardness in submitting to Your Grace's consideration my sentiments on the state of Ireland, or on any other subject; but I really think so little of politics, that I am quite unfit to give a judgment on what ought to be done; I will throw out, however, what occurs to me on the subject.

" The government, in my opinion, has acted wisely in adopting vigorous and speedy measures for quelling the rebellion, which their own impolitic conduct towards that kingdom had principally occasioned. The amnesty has my entire approbation, and it ought to be followed by an extensive lenity towards those who may be tried and found guilty. But this is not all which

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ought to be done; the real grievances of the Irish should be liberally redressed.

" If the tithes of that country must still remain with the Protestant clergy, the Catholic clergy should be paid from the public treasure, that their maintenance may not be a burden to individuals of that religious persuasion. The Catholic clergy being thus rendered respectable, both they and the Protestant clergy should be compelled to residence, as a mean of civilising the inhabitants of the country. Neither of these two persuasions should be permitted to tyrannise over the other, nor be encouraged in making proselytes, except by their examples of piety, courtesy, and benevolence.

" As to granting the elective franchise to Catholics, and permitting persons of that religion to sit in parliament, I should have no hesitation on that subject, could I be convinced that the Catholic church would not, if it were the dominant church, be a persecuting church. This apprehension affects my mind; yet I am often inclined to think that, whatever foundation there may be for it in the history of former times, it is at present a groundless apprehension with respect to the enlightened part of the Irish Catholics. It would be a long time, moreover, before the Catholics would acquire a majority in either House of Parliament; so long indeed, that Popery itself will, according to my expectation, be extinguished before that period should arrive. I would therefore, every thing considered, grant at the present conjuncture a complete emancipation to the Irish Catholics, and restore them to all the rights of citizenship. This is as much perhaps as the times will bear, but it is not all that I wish to be done. Our connection with Ireland must, at all events, be pre-

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served, lest she should become connected with some other power. There are three ways in which that connection may be imagined to be formed. Our present connection is better known to Your Grace than to me; you know better than I do, whether the cabinet of Great Britain does or does not guide the cabinet of Ireland in every measure of importance; if it does not, Ireland is, as to us, an independent country, and our connection with it is similar to our connection with Hanover. Another mode of connection might be the treating Ireland as a conquered country; this, notwithstanding the provocation we have received, will not I hope be thought of. A third, and what I esteem the most beneficial mode of connection for both countries, would be a legislative union. I remember the having suggested this to the Duke of Rutland, when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in his answer he agreed with me in the principle, but said that whoever should attempt such a thing in Ireland would be tarred and feathered. The temper of the Irish may since that time be changed, and their late calamities may have convinced them, that an union with Great Britain, ON LIBERAL POLITICAL TERMS, would do more to tranquillise and to aggrandise their country, than all the systems of corruption which a few rapacious individuals may have formed for them. "I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to the Earl of Galloway.

"My dear Lord,

"YOUR Lordship's letter gave me great satisfaction, for I feel peculiar pleasure when I see men of distinction in the state in

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earnest in their religion. Mr. Colquhoun's book exhibits a sad picture of human depravity; a little, I think, in some parts overcharged, but though it may be softened, it will still remain hideous.

" The manners of a people have an intimate connection with their riches; where these abound, it is not in the power of penal laws, how well soever they may be administered, to stop the torrent of sensuality and debauchery. The bad example set by those who possess great wealth, induces every man to wish for similar indulgences; these cannot be honestly procured; and, being earnestly sought after, recourse is had to rapine and fraud in a thousand shapes.

" I wish it were in my power to suggest the proper means of mending mankind, and Your Lordship deserves great praise for having thought of a plan for that purpose. You are aware, I presume, that a society for the reformation of manners was established in the beginning of this century, which came to nothing. Another society of the same kind was established about ten or twelve years ago, and is still subsisting in London. An account of their proceedings has been published, but I am a stranger to its success, though I was a member of it for some time, and only withdrew my name from an opinion (perhaps an ill-formed one) of its inefficacy.

" I hope and believe that there are more men of piety and benevolence in this country than in any other equal part of Europe, but this excellence of character is found more abundantly in the middle class of life than in either the very rich or the very poor.

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" I hope to reach London before the end of next month, and shall be happy to converse with you on the subject of your letter, being with the greatest esteem,

" Your faithful friend and servant,

" Richard Landaff.

" December 10th, 1799."

On the 11th of April, 1799, I made the following speech in the House of Lords, respecting an union with Ireland,—a subject which I had many years before warmly recommended to the consideration of the minister:—

" My Lords,

" In rising to deliver my opinion on a subject which has already been illustrated by the eloquence and exhausted by the wisdom of some of the ablest speakers in this and in the other House of Parliament, in this and in another kingdom, I cannot but feel an apprehension lest I should be considered by Your Lordships in the unfavourable light of a man unnecessarily vexing the reluctant ear with a dull repetition, as it were, of a thrice-told tale. But my heart is so much in this business, and my mind has been so long accustomed to contemplate it, as an object of the first political importance, that I must entreat Your Lordships' indulgence whilst I explain my sentiments upon it. I will do this as briefly and as clearly as I can. When the late Duke of Rutland, whose memory will be ever dear to me, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he honoured me with his confidence, and conversed with me on many subjects of political importance.

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The Irish propositions, as they were called, were then under discussion. I own they had my approbation, though they were, properly enough, ultimately abandoned, on the ground of their not being acceptable to the Irish nation. In writing to him about that time, I perfectly well remember having said, 'You and your friend the minister of England would immortalise your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by *honourable means* and *on equitable terms*, a legislative union between the two kingdoms.' His answer to this suggestion was so singular that I shall never forget it; it was to this effect:— He wholly approved of the measure; but added, the man who should attempt to carry the measure into execution would be tarred and feathered. Whether this repugnance to an union was, at that time, the general sentiment of the Irish nation, or, which I suspect, of a few leading individuals in that country, I have no means of ascertaining, nor is it now of any use to enquire. I have mentioned this circumstance to show to Your Lordships, that the opinion which I mean this day to deliver on this great subject is not an opinion rashly or recently taken up, in consequence of the late occurrences in Ireland, (though I am ready to own that those occurrences have very much strengthened me in the propriety of the opinion,) but it is an opinion deliberately formed many years ago, when the mind was neither heated by resentment against rebellion, nor disturbed by the apprehension of danger, and when I was much more in the habit of considering such subjects than I have been of late years.

"My life, My Lords, from seventeen to sixty-one, has been pleasantly, and, I hope, not unprofitably, spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in abstract reasoning on a variety of topics. I

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have occasionally and incidentally reasoned on political subjects; but this, I presume, may be forgiven to a churchman, who, at this advanced period of his age, can boldly and honestly declare, in the hearing of Your Lordships and in the face of his country, that all his political speculations were ever founded on what appeared to him the broad basis of public utility, and ever proceeded from an unbiassed mind; and, on the present occasion, I feel that my mind is as unbiassed as that of any gentleman either in Great Britain or Ireland.

" There are many, I am sensible, in both countries, who understand this subject, in all its relations and dependencies, better than I do: but I am not ignorant of it; I have not thought of it slightly; I at least understand enough of it to enable me to form for my own guidance, (which is all I aim at,) not an obscure, not an hesitating, but a clear and determined judgment; and, having formed such a judgment, I will not be deterred from declaring it on account of its unpopularity in a country, for whose interests I have always cherished a serious and sincere concern. My opinion then is this, — that a *cordial* union will be much more advantageous to Ireland than it will be to Great Britain, but that it will be eminently useful to both countries. If I were to express my sentiments of the utility of an union in few words, I would say, *that an union will enrich Ireland; that it will not impoverish Great Britain: that it will render the empire, as to defence, the strongest empire in Europe.*

" The strength of every state principally depends on the number of its people. The lands of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to their full extent — to the extent, if this measure takes place, they will be in half a century — would support a population

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of thirty millions at least. Thirty millions of people would afford five or six millions of men able to bear arms; and either five or six millions of men able to bear arms would afford, when occasion should require, one million of men in arms, without distressing either the agriculture, the manufactures, or the commerce of the country: but with a million of men in arms, with insular situations, with a free constitution, with united hearts, what could Great Britain or Ireland have to fear from the combined aggression of all Europe? We might then be more indifferent than we could hitherto prudently have been to continental politics; we might then suffer the princes of the continent to settle their own disputes, without our throwing our men or money into any scale, to preserve that equilibrium of despotic power which, as free and happy subjects of a limited monarchy, we cannot but wish, for the interests of humanity, had no existence any where.

" Having expressed my general approbation of the general measure, I might proceed to a regular discussion of several questions connected with it: but I will not do this; they are questions of too delicate a nature, and of too difficult investigation, to have any justice done to them within the compass of a short debate. I will mention two or three of them.

" It is certainly a question of magnitude, on which wise and good men may differ, Whether the *present* parliament of Ireland has or has not a right to vote its own extinction? and if this be a question with respect to Ireland, a similar one applies to Great Britain, Whether the *present* parliament of Great Britain has or has not a right to accede to an union? A volume might be written on this subject, and the question would still remain undecided, unless the principle on which it must be argued was pre-

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viously settled, unless a previous question was determined; and the previous question appears to me to be this, What is the quantum of power, what the quality of trust confided constitutionally by the constituents to their representatives in parliament? On this previous point men are not likely to come to any unanimity of opinion: but on an agreement on this point depends the decision of parliamentary rights and parliamentary competency. Some men dislike all discussion of competency and rights: I cannot agree with them; right and obligation are correlative terms; and unless we understand what is right, how can we understand our obligation not to do wrong?

"There is another question of high importance, Whether the Roman Catholics in Ireland, being a great majority of the people, have or have not a right to some ecclesiastical establishment, and to the removal of all civil disabilities? This question becomes more perplexed, as to both parts of it, but especially as to the former part of it, than at the first view it may appear to any one to be, when it is considered that the property, by which such an establishment must be maintained, is principally in the hands of a small minority of the people, who will not receive any direct and immediate benefit from such an establishment. Whenever this question is agitated, and the sooner perhaps it is agitated and settled the better, I hope it will be remembered, that nothing can be expedient to be done which it is not just and lawful to do; but that many things may be right, just, and lawful to be done, which may not, politically speaking, be expedient to be done. And to Protestants and Catholics I would recommend the advice of an ancient father of the church, who, in composing the animosities of contending religious parties, counselled each side to

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give up little things, that both sides might obtain great things, — peace, tranquillity, and concord.

" There is a third question more important, if possible, than either of the other two; and of so difficult a nature, that the most prospective wisdom of the most consummate statesman cannot decide upon it with any degree of certainty; Whether the British constitution will or will not undergo some change; and, if any, what change, from the introduction of Irish members into our two Houses of Parliament? On these and similar questions, as well as on commercial advantages and disadvantages attending an union, I could speak at some length; but I purposely decline entering into detail on any of them; and I do this, partly from thinking that this is not the proper time for such discussion, partly from a persuasion that those to whom this great matter will be intrusted do not stand in need of my advice on any point, and principally from my dislike to appearing forward in obtruding my political speculations on the attention of the House, having no ambition whatever to affect the character of a statesman, — a character, indeed, when wisely and honourably sustained, of the highest importance to human happiness, but which does not befit a retired and unconnected churchman, who wishes to spend the remainder of his days in contemplations of quite a different tendency.

" On the subject of the union, as far as it respects Ireland, three different opinions have been adopted in that country. The first is the opinion of those who think that an union with Great Britain is the most probable and effectual means of securing, of enlarging, and rendering permanent the prosperity of Ireland. Whatever may be the numbers, character, or situation of the

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persons who entertain this opinion, I have no scruple in saying that I concur in sentiment with them. A second opinion is, that British connection is, indeed, essential to Irish prosperity, but that British union will be destructive of that prosperity. This opinion has been supported by men of such approved integrity, and of such acknowledged ability, by men every way so respectable, that I suspect my own faculties of reasoning when I presume to differ from them. In an ordinary mode of reasoning, one would say that if British connection is essential to Irish prosperity, then the closer that connection is, the greater will be that prosperity; this I say, My Lords, would be an ordinary inference; unless it could be shown that the connection, when it has approached to a certain degree of proximity, changes at once its nature; like some physical powers which are attractive to a certain distance, and then become repulsive. The present bond of connection between the two kingdoms is that of their having the same King; the proposed bond is that of their having the same legislature. How slight the former bond is, has been so fully shown by a noble Secretary, in a former debate on this subject, that I will not say one word upon it: but surely it requires no depth of argumentation to apprehend that if a connection with a third part of a legislature be useful, one with the whole legislature will be abundantly more useful; for the first is liable to be obstructed in its efficiency, or wholly destroyed, by many foreseen and many unforeseen circumstances: but the last can meet with no impediment in its operation, and can only be destroyed by, what can never be taken into deliberation, a dissolution of the government itself.

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" But it is probable that I do not perfectly understand what is meant by the terms British Connection; and there is no greater source of error in reasoning, than the using terms without annexing to them definite ideas.

" Is it then meant by British connection, on which Irish prosperity is said to depend, that the trade and manufactures of Great Britain are to be crippled in operation, and limited in extent, in order that those of Ireland may be invigorated and enlarged? — No; the Irish are too liberal a people, to have formed so selfish an expectation. Is it meant by British connection, that the lands and property of Great Britain are to be mortgaged to the last guinea in building, equipping, and maintaining fleets for the protection of the coasts and the commerce of Ireland? No; the Irish are too just a people to desire that Great Britain should make so dear a sacrifice. Is it meant by British connection, that when Ireland shall have become rich and powerful, and shall have established a beneficial commerce with Holland, Spain, France, or any other country, and Great Britain having declared war against any of those countries, is it meant that Ireland shall be at liberty to remain at peace, and to prosecute her commercial advantages, leaving Great Britain to fight her own battles? No; Ireland is too wise a nation not to see, that this conduct would be a direct separation. What then can be meant by British connection, except this; — that Great Britain and Ireland shall for ever have the same friends and the same foes; that they shall have a common strength; that this common strength shall be supported by a common purse, to which each shall contribute according to its ability; that this common strength shall be directed by a coincidence, or rather by an identity of councils;

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that Great Britain shall make no laws injurious to Ireland, nor Ireland any injurious to Great Britain; that there shall be no commercial jealousies, but a constant reciprocation of benefits; in a word, that Great Britain and Ireland shall be like the two arms of the body, never disposed to quarrel with and beat each other, but always ready to unite their efforts in defence of that common body from which both derive their strength and vigour. If all this is meant by British connection, I see not that it differs, except in name and efficiency, from British union; and if less than this is meant, British connection will be destitute of that stability which is necessary to secure the permanency of Irish prosperity.

"The third opinion which prevails in Ireland on this subject, says, that British connection and British union are equally and irreconcileably hostile to the interests of Ireland. This opinion may, for aught I know, have been privately entertained by some individuals for many years; but it has not, till lately, been publicly avowed. I am not disposed to call every man a rebel and a traitor, who maintains this opinion as a speculative opinion; but let who will maintain it, I must say that it is a preposterous opinion, that it is not supported by any experience derived from the history of nations, that it is not bottomed on any knowledge of human nature, and that it is wholly devoid of that first feature of political wisdom — foresight.

"I will speak my whole mind on this point. Ireland, as a graft inserted into the stock of the British empire, may throw out branches in every direction, and bear fruit on every twig; but if you separate it from this connection, and plant it in a soil by itself, it will neither strike root downwards, nor bear fruit upwards,

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for an hundred years, though it should be left to itself, free from the annoyance of its neighbours. But this Irish graft cannot be left to itself; it will either be stunted and overshadowed by the mighty branching of the British oak, or it will be poisoned by the pestilential exhalations of the trees of liberty which France will plant around it, — trees which have hitherto produced no fruit in Europe or in the world, except the apples of Sodom, alluring to the eye, but bitter and poisonous to the palate. Ireland cannot stand alone. Would to God that there was moderation and justice enough in great states, to permit lesser states to enjoy their independence, and to prosecute their interests in a state of separation from them: but this is a system of politics more to be wished than expected in the present condition of Christian morality. Ireland cannot stand alone; she must of necessity be connected; nay, she must for her own safety, in the present convulsed state of European politics, in the present progress of strange political opinions, be united either to Great Britain or France. She is not, indeed, at liberty to make her choice, without withdrawing that allegiance, which the wisest and best men in Ireland have not, I am convinced, any disposition to withdraw; but if she were unfettered by any bond of connection, at full liberty to make a choice, is there a man in all Ireland, of a good heart and a cool head, who could hesitate in preferring an union with Great Britain to one with France? United with Great Britain, Ireland will soon become a lusty, well-looking, well-fed limb of the British body politic; united with France, she would be a withered, shrivelled, palsied, starved excrescence, which might be cut off and thrown aside, whenever interest or caprice should render a separation necessary.

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" I foresee, with great satisfaction, the time when, if this union takes place, the whole state of Ireland will be changed. The overflowing of British capital will, on a peace, instead of finding its way into France or America, settle in Ireland. It will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields; it will cover its barren mountains with forests; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabrics, explore new channels of commerce, and improve the old ones; in a word, by supplying labour, it will render the people industrious, enlightened, contented, and happy. I, My Lords, shall not live to see the effects of this measure, for great objects do not attain their full perfection at once; but our posterity will see them, and will have cause to bless the enlarged policy of two legislatures, which, rising superior to petty jealousies; which, sacrificing partial interests on the altar of general safety, have coalesced into one, for the benefit of both.

" But though I am, on the most dispassionate grounds, a sincere friend to an union, I am no friend to its being accomplished, *except by the most just and honourable means.* An union participates in the nature of a contract; or, to speak more properly, it is a contract of the highest kind. Now, it is of the essence of every contract, that there should be the free consent of the contracting parties, founded on a cool and comprehensive view of the subject, and on a persuasion of the utility to be derived therefrom. Ireland does not yet seem to be persuaded of the utility which she will derive from this union; nor has Ireland (if I may be allowed to say so without giving offence, and I certainly do not mean to give any,) yet, I think, taken a cool and comprehensive view of the subject: at all events, she does not yet seem

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disposed to become a party to the contract. Under such circumstances, the contract cannot, in my opinion, be fairly entered into. What, then, is to be done? Precisely that which Great Britain is doing; and is, I trust, prepared to do. Great Britain is giving time to Ireland to consider this subject in all its bearings; and Great Britain is, I trust, prepared to say, if not by words, to say by actions, to her sister-kingdom, — Be persuaded, that, in proposing this measure, I have not been actuated by any selfish, insidious, or oppressive views; be assured, that in prosecuting what has been proposed, I have no point to carry but what will be full as useful to Ireland as to Great Britain: conscious of the integrity of my intention, and convinced of the utility of the measure, had I the means of influencing the parliament of Ireland to a corrupt approbation of it, I would, on this occasion, disdain to use them. I will not tamper with the conscience; I will not attempt to undermine the public probity, or to assail the personal independence of any individual in Ireland. I do not wish any man, on either side of the water, to support this measure from a principle of gratitude for favours received, much less from a principle of expectation of favours to be conferred; but, on the other hand, I must deprecate all opposition to it, originating in local prejudices, partial consideration, individual interest; or, in what is least deserving the attention of a wise man, a desire of popular applause. All I wish is, that the subject may be fully and intelligently examined, deliberately discussed, and decided freely. Great Britain may not, perhaps, be able to approve the wisdom of the decision, but she knows how to respect the independence of the sister-kingdom, and will acquiesce in the decision, be it what it may. Such, My Lords, I

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humbly think, is the language, such the conduct which Great Britain should use; and which, if we may judge from what has been said in this House concerning free consent, she is disposed to use towards Ireland. It is a conduct conformable to the eternal rules of immutable justice; it is suited to the magnanimity of this great nation; it is calculated to conciliate the affections, and to rivet the regard of the high-spirited indeed, but at the same time of the warm-hearted people of Ireland.

" I have detained Your Lordships too long, and in doing so, I have probably done as much violence to my own feelings as to your patience; for I do feel a daily increasing reluctance to the mingling in public political debate. But this great subject has compelled me to come forward. I perceive that every thing which is dear to us as individuals, as fathers of families, as members of civil society, is at stake. The wild ambition of France supported on the right hand by the annihilating doctrines of Epicurus, supported on the left by the wicked hopes of the idle and the profligate, to rise to distinction by public confusion, and every where assisted, except in this happy country, by forms of government more or less arbitrary and oppressive, to which the mass of the people can feel little attachment; this ambition, thus supported, thus assisted, is stalking like a desolating fiend throughout the earth, and wherever it puts its iron foot it crushes, with undistinguished ruin, all orders of men, and levels with the ground every civil, every ecclesiastical constitution.

" When I view this monster at a distance, I contemplate it with abhorrence; its nearer approach, if it must approach nearer, I shall view, not without anxiety, but without despondency. The good providence of God may, and I trust it will, and unless the

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sins of the nation obstruct its influence, we may be certain that it will defend us from the enemy; but no human means (I speak in the sincerity of my heart), no human means can be devised more suited to this end than a liberal, cordial, legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland."

When I sat down, the Bishop of Rochester (Horseley) complimented me with saying, that he had never heard such a speech in the House of Lords, and should never hear such another. I could not but be pleased with having extorted, as it were, this praise from a man who did not like me; but the satisfaction which I received from the Bishop's commendation was far inferior to that, which the following note from Dr. Joseph Warton gave me, to whom I was very little known: —

"My Lord, Nerot's Hotel, April 13. 1799.

"Though I feel very strongly the impertinence and impropriety I am guilty of, yet I cannot restrain myself from expressing the great satisfaction and pleasure I have received from reading Your Lordship's most eloquent, nervous, convincing, and unanswerable speech on the Union with Ireland. Happy it would be for us if Your Lordship's counsels and opinions were always followed and put in execution. I must entreat you to forgive the freedom of these few lines,

"And am, with the greatest respect and regard,

"Your Lordship's most obliged and obedient servant,

"Jos. Warton."

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Though the colouring of this compliment is, I am sensible, overcharged, yet, I should belie my feelings if I did not own that it gave me great pleasure; for Dr. Joseph Warton was a scholar, and not only a scholar but a man of taste, and not only a scholar and a man of taste, but what, at that time, was a rare character indeed, a genuine whig.

In a few days after I had made this speech, I set forward into Westmoreland. Whilst I was on the road Lord Grenville brought to the Bar of the House of Lords, one Flower of Cambridge, for having been guilty of a breach of privilege, in publishing something against my speech; what that something was I never deigned to enquire. The punishment inflicted by the House was, as I remember, imprisonment for six months, and a fine of 100*l*. I sent the following letter to Lord Grenville on the occasion; for I thought myself the more obliged to him as I had no acquaintance with His Lordship, and was wholly ignorant that I had been the object of Mr. Flower's abuse:—

"My Lord, Calgarth Park, Kendal, May 10th, 1799.

"I YESTERDAY learned from the newspapers what has passed in the House of Lords relative to Mr. Flower. I am sensible that Your Lordship has taken up this matter from your great attention to the public service; yet I must beg you to allow me the liberty of returning you my thanks for the protection which you have thereby afforded to myself.

"I am an utter stranger to the person and character of Mr. Flower, and wholly ignorant of the magnitude of his offence; I cannot therefore, with propriety, interfere in soliciting

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a mitigation of punishment; but if any application should be made to the House for that purpose, I will trouble Your Lordship to say, that the Bishop of Landaff, as an individual, will feel much more satisfaction in forgiving the man's malignity than in avenging it.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Lord Grenville's Answer, dated Dropmore, May 14. 1799.

"My Lord,

"I WAS this morning honoured with Your Lordship's obliging letter. In the instance to which it relates, I have only discharged a public duty, but it was with pleasure that I availed myself of the occasion to express my respect for the character of a person, whose exertions in the defence of religion are, I am persuaded, the real cause of the scandalous and unprovoked calumnies against him. If any application is made to the House in behalf of Mr. Flower, I will not fail to obey Your Lordship's commands.

"I am, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

The union with Ireland took place in the following year, but I spoke no more in parliament on that subject. The Archbishop of Canterbury had asked my opinion relative to the church of Ireland, and I sent to him the following letter, dated Great George-Street, 5th March, 1800:—

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" My Lord Archbishop,

" I THINK the act of parliament proposed by the Archbishop of Cashell and Dr. Duigenan to be wholly unnecessary; but I approve of the addition to the fifth article suggested by the Lord Lieutenant. I approve, however, of this addition merely as it may tend to conciliate those who seem to entertain apprehensions for the security of the Irish Church, and not as thinking it in any degree requisite for that end, which is in no degree endangered by the union.

" An united convocation will sufficiently unite the churches of England and Ireland, both at present, and as to all future changes, if it should ever be thought expedient to make any; and as to identification, the churches are at present identified, not only in the leading principles of Protestantism and Episcopacy, but in doctrine, discipline, and worship; or if in any of these points there should be a little difference, I see not the utility of aiming at a perfect coincidence in them; and I dread the discussion of matters, in themselves, probably, not essential to Christianity, and likely to produce religious dissensions between the two kingdoms.

" Above all things, I wish the Church of England to forbear affecting a superiority over that of Ireland, by attempting to obtain an appellant jurisdiction for the See of Canterbury.

" Your Grace, I hope, will pardon the freedom of these remarks, on account of the sincerity with which they are made. I am very anxious that no obstacles should be thrown in the way of the union from any quarter; and I fear some dissatisfaction may arise in the hearts of the bishops and clergy of Ireland, if we do not leave their church entirely to their own management,

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and as much as possible in the precise state in which it now stands.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Extract of a letter to the Duke of Grafton, to whom I had shown an Essay on Original Sin.

" YOUR GRACE puts me in mind of the *Essay on Original Sin*, I certainly have it some-where, but know not where to look for it. I will endeavour to find it, and to make it less unworthy Your Grace's inspection. I have said that I will endeavour to find it, but this endeavour will depend on my mind again receiving a bent towards such enquiries. I once had determined to write some essays on theological subjects; but I detest contention, and I soon perceived that the freedom of my researches would expose me to much censure, and involve me in most uncharitable altercation with the ignorant, the intolerant, and the orthodox. At an earlier period of life I should not have regretted these consequences; but as we grow old, we grow fond of peace, and unwillingly engage in pursuits likely to disturb our tranquillity. I am moreover so entirely occupied in providing for my family, by improving the few estates I have bought, that I have not leisure to become learned; and to write on any subject without going to the bottom of it, would be dishonourable to myself, and useless to the public.

" I have explained clearly enough what sort of union with Ireland it is that I wish for, and have no doubt of *such an union* being in the highest degree useful to both countries. I may be

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mistaken in this judgment, but I have yet heard no reasons which induce me to change it. There occur, however, so many contingencies in all political concerns, that I am apt to suspect my own speculation on such points, and am not very eager in giving credit to the foresight of other men. As to reform, I wish it may be accomplished, but I am not authorised, either by the history of this country, or of any other that I ever read of, to expect that a rich and corrupted state will ever be reformed without being revolutionised, and a revolution is not, I believe, the wish of the best friends of a reform.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In May, 1800, when there was a Bill before the House of Lords, to prevent persons convicted of the crime of adultery from intermarrying with each other, I received a very serious and sensible letter, from a gentleman, with whom I had no acquaintance, recommending it to me to write a tract, investigating the cause of the prevalence of the crime of adultery in the present age, and requesting me to inform him whether I would think of adopting the hint he had given. I thought the subject too important to be superficially treated, and had no inclination to enter deeply into it, and therefore merely sent him the subjoined note:—

"Sir, Calgarth Park, May 17. 1800.

"I RETURN you thanks for the flattering manner in which you are pleased to express yourself concerning my feeble endeavours in the service of religion and morality, and at the same time

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inform you that I have no thoughts of writing on the subject you mention.

"The *morals* of all nations have been ruined by their *riches*, and Great Britain will not escape the usual catastrophe. Luxury makes men poor; poverty combined with luxury induces men, and women too, to marry, not from mutual liking and an approbation of a virtuous character, but from interest. Where there is no liking, there will soon be great indifference; disgust follows indifference; and the silly principle that there can be nothing wrong in doing what so many people do, finishes the business of matrimonial felicity, and paves the way to adultery.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In 1793, I wrote the preliminary observations which are prefixed to the agricultural report of the county of Westmoreland, and intended to have written the whole report. But on Mr. Pringle's being employed by the Board of Agriculture to survey the county, I gave up my own design, and lent him what assistance I could. The country is indebted to Sir John Sinclair, for the establishment of the Board of Agriculture; his patriotism suggested the plan, and his perseverance surmounted all the difficulties which attended the obtaining a charter, and setting the scheme afloat by becoming the first president. I was one of the thirty *ordinary* members of the Board, and was constant in my attendance at its meetings, whenever I was in London. Towards the end of 1799, I received from the president a plan for establishing (by a company of subscribers) experimental farms in the different counties, to which I sent the following answer: —

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"Dear Sir John,

"I ADMIRE the activity of your mind, which is incessantly prompting you to exertions for the public good, and feel a great mortification when my ideas do not perfectly coincide with yours.

"I cannot form a clear judgment as to the utility of experimental farms, unless I knew more of the detail of conducting them. But I own, in the present view I have of them, I do not think they will be attended with much utility, and they certainly will be attended with an enormous expense, even if managed with the greatest attention and honesty; and, if carelessly and fraudulently managed, with much vexation and anxiety to those concerned in their success.

"Most of the great improvements which have taken place in British agriculture, within the last fifty years, have been introduced by the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the country, under their own superintendence, or that of their immediate agents. I am of opinion that such men as the Duke of Bedford, Lord Egremont, and others of similar dispositions and abilities, (if such can be found,) in the different counties, will do more towards perfecting the agriculture of the kingdom, by trying experiments on their own estates, than by any experimental farms, however numerous, under the direction of any Society, however enlightened. [To the above names may now justly be added, those of Cook and Curwen.]

"There is a great mass (to use a phrase of which you are fond) of agricultural knowledge already collected in Young's works, in the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Commerce, in the Bath letters and papers, in your agricultural surveys, (for I must give, not the Board of Agriculture, but you,

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the merit of having formed them,) and in a great variety of publications in our own and in other languages; but this mass is an *indigesta moles*, it must be resolved into distinct parts, and arranged under proper heads, before it can be of much use to practical farmers. Till this is done, till what is certainly known is distinguished from what is doubtfully conjectured, I profess I do not expect much information from experimental farms, nor see the possibility of conducting them with intelligence.

"There are many problems respecting the cultivation of land, which do not admit a solution, because the success or the failure of the experiments, which should be made in order to solve the problem, depend more upon the nature of the weather, which cannot be foreseen, than upon the quality of the soil or mode of management. Thus from one experiment, it may appear that drilling wheat is the most profitable mode of culture; from another, that dibbling it is preferable; and from a third, that sowing it broad-cast is the best, according as the season happens to be hot or cold, wet or dry.

"But I perceive that I am entering into a long discussion, and raising objections instead of removing them: the conclusion is, that, though I do not expect much advantage from your plan, I will take a share in it. As to the great men in the city supporting it, if you do but exhibit the shadow of a guinea to be caught an hundred years hence, they will engage in the pursuit of it; but the old proberb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, should teach them not to range beyond the field of Change-Alley.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

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Sir John Sinclair was the first president of the Board of Agriculture, and he was turned out of that office in a very unhandsome manner. On some occasion or other he had opposed Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons; and that gentleman, on the day fixed for the annual election of a president, suddenly excited a very unexpected opposition; and by sending a great many *official* members to vote, none of whom had ever attended a single meeting of the Board, Lord Somerville was elected president. I know not whose disgrace was the greatest,—that of the minister who planned such a miserable manœuvre, or that of the men who degraded their high stations by assisting him in the execution of it. A year or two after this, Lord Carrington was made president; and I was asked by him, but declined, to become a vice-president. In 1800, His Lordship sent me an account of the premiums which the Board offered for essays, On the best means of converting certain portions of grass-land into tillage without exhausting the soil, and of returning the same to grass, after a certain period, in an improved state, or at least without injury. This subject had been recommended to the consideration of the Board by a committee of the House of Lords, who were then employed in examining into the causes of the then scarcity of bread-corn. I sent the following answer to this communication, in hopes that His Lordship might suggest something really useful to Mr. Pitt, with whom he was very intimate:—

"My Lord, Calgarth Park, 26th Dec. 1800.

"I WILL not fail to circulate the advertisements which you have sent me, though I have no expectation of there arising in this district any candidate for the premium which the Board of

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Agriculture has offered. The plough is seldom put into the ground in Westmoreland, till moss has destroyed the herbage. Artificial grasses have begun to be sown in some parts, but the example is not yet generally followed.

"The Board will probably receive many essays [it did actually receive above 300], and your secretary might compile from his own works, and from numerous other agricultural publications, as good a one as any you will receive. Almost every point, on which the Board desires information, has been repeatedly discussed, and experimentally decided. But I do not expect much advantage to result from the publication of such essays as the Board requires, however excellent they may be. They will never come into the hands of the generality of farmers; they will be hastily perused by a few, be soon laid on the shelf by them, and be forgotten in a twelvemonth by all.

"I am glad that the Board has reserved to itself the power of withholding any premium; in my opinion it will have great occasion for the discreet exercise of that power, if it would escape the imputation of having (though with the most honourable intention) misapplied the public money.

"Neither this, or any other country which is capable of producing a sufficiency of bread-corn for its inhabitants, ought ever to rely on the importation of that commodity. This reliance, however, will, even in a country naturally fertile, become absolutely necessary, when the *wages of manufacturers exceed those of husbandmen;* and this is at present the case in Great Britain. The high wages moreover of farming-servants, and the high price of farming-utensils, are a great obstruction to tillage; and

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have, in fact, induced thousands of farmers to turn their lands from tillage to pasturage.

" That the lands of this kingdom, if they were all cultivated as they might be, would maintain one third or one half more inhabitants than they do at present, is a proposition of which I have no doubt; but I do doubt extremely whether, in the present circumstances of the country, they will ever attain that desirable degree of cultivation.

" I have heard much, and I have read much about the propriety of passing a general enclosure bill; but if it were passed to-morrow, the present high price of labour would almost wholly obstruct the bringing waste land into cultivation, and unless waste lands are brought into cultivation, the enclosure of *common* fields will, as to the production of grain, do more harm than good.

" Whilst we continue masters of the ocean, and whilst our commerce supplies us with foreign wealth to purchase corn in foreign markets, it may seem to be a matter of indifference whether we grow corn or buy corn, whether our people are manufacturers or peasants. There is some truth in this position; yet our security as a nation, (as far as that security is connected with the feeding of the people,) ought, I think, to be bottomed on a more solid foundation.

" The government, in my opinion, would well employ ten millions of money, or a much larger sum, if a larger should be found necessary, in bringing into cultivation every acre of waste land in this kingdom and in Ireland. By cultivation I mean, *Tillage*, *Pasturage*, and *Plantation*. I consider this as an object of the very first political importance, and most deserving the

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attention of the minister, and of every other enlightened statesman. When our barren mountains shall be covered with firs and larches, and the barrenest will grow larches, we shall have deal, pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine, within ourselves, instead of importing them at an enormous expense from other countries; and where food for an increased population shall be produced from an increased tillage and pasturage, we may be less anxious about expensive *continental alliances, than either we or our ancestors have been.*

"The improvement here mentioned I have always had much at heart; it certainly might be made, and well and profitably made; but as I have no expectation of seeing any thing attempted on a great scale, I forbear troubling either Your Lordship or myself with entering into any detail on the subject. — A matter of less importance than the cultivation of the waste land, yet sufficiently worthy of attention, has often been the subject of my consideration — *the taking off the tax on coals carried coast-wise, and used in burning lime.*

"I do not know the exact amount of the tax, but I do know that it is a great obstruction to the agriculture of the country. Lime is an useful manure for most lands, but especially for waste lands which are covered with heath, furze, ferns, &c. If laid, in proper quantities, on such lands, it changes them, without farther trouble or expense, into valuable pastures; and, if the improvement is carried farther, these pastures become good arable land. On account of the dearness of coal, many millions of tons of limestone remain unburned, which, if converted into lime, would be spread, with the most beneficial effect, both on productive and on unproductive lands.

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" I am writing at a greater length than I intended, having no wish to trouble the Board with my speculations, but merely a desire to give yourself a testimony of that esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

I afterwards obtained from the Custom-House the following account of the amount of the coal duties. Total amount of the duties on coals exported in the year 1801, 92,552*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* — Total amount of the duties on coals carried coastwise, distinguishing, 1st, the coals imported into London, and, 2d, the Out-Ports: London, 387,609*l.* 13*s.* 10½*d.* — Out-Ports, 134,404*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* — Now if the duty should be taken off from coal used in the burning of lime, supposing that duty, even with the frauds which might be committed, to amount to ten or twenty thousand pounds a year, the loss to the revenue would be trifling; and much more lime would be burned than is now burned, and in less than fifty years some millions of acres would be brought into cultivation which must, without lime, remain in the unproductive state they have hitherto been; to say nothing of the increase to the revenue from the increase of barley, &c.

There has been much more conjecture and less certainty concerning the quantity of waste land in the country, than there ought to have been concerning a matter of such importance, and capable of ascertainment. It is to be regretted that government suffers itself to remain in ignorance on such a subject, at a time when, from the state of Europe, we are peculiarly called upon to rely on our own resources. Why not order every county in

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Great Britain and Ireland to be parochially surveyed; the survey to contain the number of acres of wheat, barley, oats, beans, &c., the quantity of hay ground, and of enclosed pasture, and of wastes and commons, and other particulars which might be mentioned. The expense might either be paid out of the public grants, or defrayed in each county by a rate; and the survey be made under the direction of the justices of the peace, and when made, delivered to parliament. This idea might be enlarged into another Domesday Book, comprehending a description of every estate in every parish in the kingdom; government would then have a clear view of the land of the country; and well cultivated land is not only the surest support of the population and strength of a country, but the fittest object of taxation. But whilst the time and talents of the greatest men in the nation are miserably consumed in securing, or in acquiring, parliamentary majorities, what can be expected even from them? And as to minor statesmen (who are most prone to condemn what they cannot understand), you may as reasonably expect to thrust a cannon ball into the muzzle of a musket, as to make a little-minded man comprehend either the practicability or the utility of a great political object.

Letter to Mr. Wilberforce.

" My dear Sir, April 1st, 1800.

" Your great and unceasing endeavours to promote the cause of virtue and religion, deserve and have obtained the applause and good will of all serious men; and I know not any person to whom I can communicate my notions on two points, respecting

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the improvement of the morals of the people, with greater probability of having them well considered, and, if thought useful and practicable, brought into effect.

" The parish-churches of this metropolis are greatly too few to afford an opportunity of attending divine service to the increasing numbers of its inhabitants, and this inconvenience is much augmented by the pews which have been erected in them. What I would propose is — the building an additional number of new churches, each on a large scale, in proper situations, which should have no appropriated seats, but, being furnished merely with benches, should be open alike to the poor and rich of all parishes and of all countries.

" The structure of these edifices should be as simple and of as comprehensive a figure as possible, that no public money might be unnecessarily expended, and a clergyman of great character and ability should be appointed to officiate twice every Sunday in each of them, and to explain the Catechism on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, without interfering with the emoluments or the duties of the parochial ministers, within whose parishes the new churches should be built.

" The salary of each clergyman should be, I think, about 400*l.* a year, but no curates should be allowed except in cases of extreme necessity.

" I forbear dilating on this scheme; many advantages and probably some objections will occur to a man of your penetration; but it is needless for me to enter into the consideration of either, till there is some prospect of the idea being adopted by government; and if the notion meets your own approbation, I can have no objection to your hinting the matter to Mr. Pitt.

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" Twenty churches might be erected for an hundred thousand pounds, and the salaries of all the clergymen, clerks, and door-keepers would not amount to ten thousand a year. These sums, or sums larger than these appear to me to be trifles, when expended for so beneficial a purpose.

" It might be of use to have a charity-box at each door of each church, the produce of which might be applied to some charitable purpose, (such as the reformation of prostitutes, the relief of prisoners for small debts, &c.) and the annual produce, I think, would not be inconsiderable; for many country-families, which come to town for a few months, would frequent these churches, and they would frequent them with more readiness if they had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves from the lower classes by voluntary donations to the charity-box.

" Another thing which deserves, in my humble judgment, the attention of government, is an evil which has increased very much, if it has not entirely sprung up in many places within the last thirty years — *the travelling of waggons and stage coaches on Sundays.* There are laws, I believe, to prevent this being done during the hours of divine service, but the difficulty of putting them in execution renders them, in a manner, useless. This evil might be remedied by an act of parliament of ten lines, enacting the payment of a great additional toll at each turnpike-gate which should be passed by such carriages, between the hours of six and six on every Sabbath day.

" The avarice of commerce, I fear, would oppose the extension of such a law to mail-coaches; and the indifference of the opulent to religious duties, together with their fondness for travelling on a day when they experience the least obstruction on

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the road, would raise a cry against it, if it were proposed to extend it to all coaches and chaises.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Wilberforce, in his answer to my letter, promised to embrace any opportunity of giving effect to the object of it. He then added the following paragraph, which I put down merely to show the sense which Mr. Pitt's warmest friends entertained of the treatment I had met with. The bishopric of Bangor had been just then given to the Bishop of Chester. " I was in hopes of ere " now being able to congratulate Your Lordship on a change of " situation, which in *public justice* ought to have taken place. It " is a subject of painful reflection to me, and I will say no more " on it, but as I am writing to Your Lordship you will excuse my " saying thus much. I will only add, that the event at once sur- " prised and vexed me." Now I am upon this subject of *self* (which cannot well be avoided by a man writing anecdotes of his life), I will transcribe extracts from two other letters; the first is from Mr. Hayley in 1797: —

" You have nobly acquired a right to lay aside your pen, and " amuse yourself in whatever field you choose, by the pre-eminence " of your literary achievements, since your writings (pray observe " that I am now imparting to you the expression of *Lord Thur-* " *low*, which I promised to communicate), since *your writings have* " *done more for Christianity than all the bench of Bishops together.*"

The second is from a near relation of the late Lord Camden, in 1801: —

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" What I think of your *public merits* can be of no consequence " to you, but what Lord Camden thought (in which I perfectly " coincided with him) would perhaps gratify you to know. He " never changed, but always told Pitt, that it was a shame for him " and the Church that you had not the most exalted station upon " the bench, as due to the unrivalled superiority of your talents " and services."

Reader! when this meets your eye, the author of it will be rotting in his grave, insensible alike to censure and to praise; but he begs to be forgiven this apparently self-commendation; it has not sprung from vanity, but from anxiety for his reputation, lest the disfavour of a Court should, by some, be considered as an indication of general disesteem, or a proof of professional demerit.

When my friends, seeing my juniors on the Bench repeatedly translated, enquired why no translation had been ever offered to me, I made no other reply, than that I knew of no reasonable cause. This neglect never gave me the least uneasiness, for I felt my heart glow with a spark of that spirit which inflamed the elder Cato, when on observing that statues were erected to many but none to himself, he said, *Malim ut de me quærant homines, quam ob rem Catoni non sit posita statua, quam quare sit posita;* declaring, as Erasmus interprets his meaning, *Se malle res præclaras gerere, ut olim scientes illum promeruisse statuam, mirentur non esse positam.*

The promise alluded to by Mr. Hayley was given in consequence of my having complied with his request that I would

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write a letter to his friend Mr. Cowper to whom I was not personally known. Mr. Hayley had benevolently hoped that a letter from me would raise the spirits and tranquillise the mind of Mr. Cowper, which was at that time much depressed.

Letter to Mr. Hayley.

" Dear Sir, October 18. 1797.

" By this post I have obeyed your commands in writing to Mr. Cowper; I cannot but admire your humanity which prompted you to think of lessening the load of your friend's sufferings by such a remedy for his mental infirmity; it may have its effect for a moment, but disorders of the mind generally though not universally originate in a disordered body. Your benevolence is active and extensive. Romney owes much to your kindness. As to the young artist, it was enough for me that you wished me to sit to him; but if I had paid no regard to your wishes, I should have been ashamed to decline following the example of Lord Thurlow, a man of whom I think highly, though he is not so good a Whig as he might be.

" I am in this retirement a stranger to books and all literary ambition, and wholly occupied in improving an estate for the benefit of my family. It is not my fault that some of the best years of my life have been thus employed; had I met with the encouragement of my profession, which would have enabled me to make a moderate provision for eight children, I never should have commenced an agriculturist. I am, however, from experience, entirely of Lord Bacon's opinion, when he says, that to

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cultivate our mother Earth is the most honourable mode of improving our fortune. You say nothing of your own health, and therefore I hope it is good; but it will give real pleasure to me to know that it is so. I beg to be always kindly esteemed by you, and am

"Your faithful servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Mr. Cowper.

"Sir, Calgarth Park, Kendal, Oct. 18. 1797.

"I KNOW not how many years are passed since I first read and admired your delightful Poems; I yesterday finished my re-perusal of them, and you must allow me the singular liberty of testifying to you the great esteem in which I hold their author.

"In an age when religion is rejected, morality outraged, and the concerns of futurity lost in dissipation and sensual indulgence, it must give every serious mind sincere satisfaction to see the impressive manner in which you support the cause of piety and virtue. You must not consider this testimony of my respect as an officious compliment; I pay it as a debt due to the manly zeal, for what is good and praiseworthy shown in all your writings.

"I will own to you that the consciousness of having laboured in the same cause with sincerity (with what success God only knows) gives a degree of comfort to me, in this retirement, where I spend eight months in the year, which nothing else could give.

"Your mind, I see, from various parts of your work, is elevated to the contemplation of the First Cause, and filled with veneration for his inscrutable perfections; this is a disposition of all others

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most to be coveted; it generates no melancholy, it frees the soul from superstitious apprehensions, it warms the heart, it enlivens hope, it teaches resignation, it deadens our affections for this world, and it thereby fits us for another. A man of this temper 'knows that God demands his heart entire,' and in offering such a sacrifice to his Maker, he has the strongest confidence that it will be graciously accepted by him.

"It gives me pleasure, it must give pleasure to every man who has any love for genius and virtue, to perceive that these qualities, though unnoticed by the many, are held in due estimation by the most enlightened part of mankind; hence I could not read without delight the Eulogy bestowed on you by the author of the "Pursuits of Literature;" (I am under obligations to that gentleman, whoever he may be, for what he has said of me;) and though I do not agree with him in some of his censures, and have no pleasure in reading lampoons, I perfectly unite with him in opinion concerning yourself.

"I beg pardon for this intrusion, but presuming that my character is not wholly unknown to you, I have the vanity to think that you will excuse this liberty.

"The lakes are visited by all the world: if an excursion into these parts should ever be made by yourself, I beg you would try the hospitality of Calgarth Park.

"I am, Sir,

"With the greatest esteem, your obedient servant,

"R. Landaff."

About this time Mr. Pitt, on the question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade being lost in the House of Commons, had stated

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his intention of bringing the matter again before the House before the termination of the session. I had never had an opportunity of speaking in the House of Lords on the subject, I sent, therefore, with an hope of doing some good, the following Letter to Mr. Pitt, and I here insert it as a testimony of my utter abhorrence of a trade, perhaps expressly forbidden by the word men-stealers (ανδραποδισταις, 1 Tim. i. 10.), and certainly virtually prohibited by that divine precept, — "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."

"Dear Sir, Calgarth Park, May 14. 1800.

"ABSTRACT reasoning on the subject of the Slave Trade must be so familiar to your mind, that it would be to abuse your time, to enter into any discussion concerning a state of slavery, as originating either in the crimes of individuals — or in the consequences of national wars unjustly commenced — or in that appropriation of the fruits of the earth which has in all countries, civilised and savage, taken place in a greater or less degree, whereby many of those who are born into the world have no other means of supporting their existence in it, but by voluntarily selling their labour, absolutely or conditionally, for a limited season, or for life, to those who will, for their daily labour, engage to afford them daily sustenance. I mean not to trouble you in this way; but as I observe that you still, much to the credit of your humanity, persevere in the measure of abolishing, or at least restricting the abominable traffic in African slaves as now carried on, I will state in a single sentence what has frequently occurred to my mind on the subject.

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" Make it *cheaper* for the planters to rear slaves than to buy slaves, and the trade will in a few years cease of itself: might not this be brought about by imposing a duty on all imported slaves, and assigning that duty, with some additional premium, to those who reared them. I enter into no detail, well knowing that if you like the suggestion you will readily reduce it to practice.

" But another thing should be attended to, if the plantations are ever to be cultivated by negroes born in the colonies,—*The emancipation of the negroes thus born, at a certain age:* this would be a proceeding consonant to justice, and to the manner in which the children of *paupers* are treated by ourselves: they are bound apprentices for such a period as may enable their master to reimburse himself, by the labour of their riper years, the expense incurred in supporting them during their infancy.

" The perpetuity of slavery in a man's posterity has always appeared to me a greater evil than the sufferance of it in his own person. If the children of slaves were to become free at thirty years of age, the planters would have a sufficient compensation for rearing them, and the present slave-parents would have a motive for taking care of their progeny. This progeny becoming free at a certain time, would generate free children after that time, and thus the colonies would be supplied with a race of free and therefore, in general, of good and happy labourers.

" It is falsely, I think, asserted, that an importation of slaves into the West Indies is necessary to keep up the stock. If the slaves were properly treated, the births would exceed the deaths among them. I know a gentleman who has above three hundred slaves on his plantation: he never bought a slave, and yet

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has more now than when he succeeded his father in the estate, above forty years ago.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had, several years before this, mentioned to Lord Thurlow, that I thought West India slavery might be quietly and gradually abolished, by emancipating the children of negroes when they attained a certain age; but it was not till after the rejection of the Slave Bill in 1804, that I found the *Abbé Raynal* had supported, at some length, the same notion in the eleventh book of his "History of European Settlements in India." Mammon is the god of every commercial nation: its power is irresistible; for it either darkened the intellect, or blunted the sympathy of a British Parliament, for a great many years.

Before I left town this year, the following correspondence took place between Mr. Pitt and myself, on a subject of great importance:—

Letter to Mr. Pitt.

"Dear Sir, Great George-Street, April 16th, 1800.

"ON dining yesterday with the Archbishop of Canterbury, His Grace informed me that a Bill for enforcing a better residence of the Clergy was now in contemplation. Ignorant as I am of the provisions of the intended Bill, I may be giving you unnecessary trouble in communicating such sentiments as at present occur to me on the subject. But I trust you will pardon this

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my presumption, proceeding from a sense of duty, especially as I shall be in the country when the business will be brought forward, and may have no other opportunity of suggesting any thing on a matter which has always been an object of my sincere and earnest wishes.

" The safety of *every* civil government is fundamentally dependent on the hopes and fears of another world, which are entertained by its members; and the safety of every *Christian* civil government is brought into the most imminent danger, when infidelity is making a rapid progress in the minds of the people. This I apprehend is the state of danger in which Great Britain (to say nothing of Ireland) now stands. It may be difficult to find a full remedy for this evil; but the residence of a respectable clergyman in every parish and hamlet in which there is a place of established worship, appears to me to be more fitted than any other for that purpose.

" I do not wish a Bill respecting residence to have any violent retrospect as to the present pluralists: they perhaps ought to remain subject only to the existing laws; for it would bring ruin on many individuals, who are now married and happily settled, if they were compelled to change their situations. But I see no individual hardship and much public good which would attend a new law suffering, after it had passed, no man to hold two benefices of any kind.

" As, however, there are many benefices utterly inadequate to the affording even a bare maintenance to an *unmarried* clergyman, a law abolishing *in futuro* all pluralities ought to be accompanied with another making a decent provision for every resident minister. An hundred pounds a-year ought to be the

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very least stipend annexed to any benefice, and, such sum being annexed, service twice every Sunday should be required in all. Benefices above an hundred a-year should remain, I think, as they are; unless it should be judged expedient, on a vacancy, *to take the first fruits on a real valuation, constituting thereby a fund towards augmenting benefices under an hundred to that sum.*

" Houses of residence for the clergy should be bought or built at the public expense, or by the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty, for livings under an hundred pounds a-year.

" The number of livings under an hundred a-year, their respective values, and the state of their parsonage-houses, should be accurately ascertained, and laid before parliament, in order that the additional public burden attending the giving a decent maintenance to the clergy might be known: it would, I am persuaded, whatever its magnitude might be, meet with no opposition from the judicious part of the community. The bishops would be able to make, if required, this return to parliament by means of their officers.

" Livings held *in commendam*, or annexed without *commendam* to bishoprics, to headships and professorships in the Universities, to public schools, &c. should be exempted from the operation of this law, as the residence of their possessors cannot be expected.

" The greatest part of the benefices under an hundred pounds a-year are in the patronage of Lay Impropriators. Many of these Impropriators would, I doubt not, be moved by a sense of piety, and a regard for public safety, to contribute largely towards rendering the income of each place of worship in their patronage not less than the sum I have mentioned.

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" I cannot at present ascertain the number of livings in the patronage of the Universities and their respective colleges, in that of deans and chapters, of hospitals, corporations, &c.; perhaps they may amount to above a thousand. But be the number what it may, would it be an unreasonable thing to expect, that these several bodies should make up from their own revenues every living in their patronage to a stipend of an hundred pounds? The property of these corporations has been greatly increased within the last forty years, whilst their poor vicarages, &c. have remained nearly in *statu quo*.

" In Denmark, and I believe in Scotland and other Protestants countries, (in Catholic countries non-residence is scarcely heard of,) the stipends of their clergy are not paid in full, unless they reside the whole year. What defalcation of income might be proper to be exacted on a partial absence of a minister from his living is a question for the wisdom of the legislature to determine; but some deduction I think ought to be made, unless in cases of sickness or other emergencies to be allowed of by the bishop of the diocese.

" If any thing is attempted I wish the axe to be laid to the root of the evil. Sectaries are every where increasing, and some of them are thought to mingle political with religious opinions; and though all men ought to be allowed the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience, yet serious persons would be glad to see a stop put to the miserable effusions of enthusiastic ignorance. The prudent zeal of a resident clergyman in watching over his flock would be more efficacious to this purpose than a whole code of penal laws.

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"I will not trespass on your time by entering into a longer detail, well knowing the facility with which your mind is able to fill up the outline of any plan which you may deem worthy of consideration.

"I have the honour, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Pitt's Answer to the preceding Letter.

"My dear Lord, Downing-Street, April 17th, 1800.

"I RETURN Your Lordship many thanks for your letter of yesterday, in which you have the goodness to communicate to me many important suggestions on the subject of a plan for enforcing a better residence of the clergy. I will, with your permission, send you a copy of the plan which has been prepared, and I am happy to observe, that in many essential points it will be found very conformable to the sentiments which you have expressed. On the only points in which it differs, I should be extremely glad to have an opportunity of conversing with you before you leave town.

"I have the honour to be, with great regard,

"Your Lordship's obedient and faithful servant,

"W. PITT."

I replied to this note, that I would wait upon Mr. Pitt at any time he would appoint before Tuesday next, when I purposed to leave London. He was taken ill, and I did not see him; but as I came out of the House of Lords on Monday evening, Lord Grenville spoke to me on the subject. The substance of my ad-

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vice to Lord Grenville is contained in the following letter to Mr. Pitt: —

" Dear Sir, Great George-Street, April 22. 1800.

". Lord Grenville told me yesterday, as I was coming out of the House of Lords, that you had communicated to him the letter which I had the honour to address to you, relative to the Bill for promoting the residence of the clergy. Apprehending that I should not have an opportunity, from the pressure of the important business [Union with Ireland] in which you are engaged, of seeing you before I left town, (and I am now stepping into my coach for that purpose,) I desired him to communicate to you a few things which occurred to me at the moment, and which I now put on paper lest they should have escaped his recollection.

" Would it be improper to put off the matter to another session? Before that time every thing might be well considered, and the requisite information obtained. It is a very ticklish business to meddle with the church; for setting aside the consideration of the high and low church principles, which are dormant but not dead in this kingdom, there are many jarring lay and clerical interests to be reconciled, before any great public good can be expected from an attempt to reform the church in any degree.

" The bishops, I think, should be authorised, as was done in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, to issue a commission (I may err as to the term, having no books here,) requiring, where necessary, the testimony on oath of the clergy and others, as to the values at present of all the livings which were then discharged from the payment of first fruits and tenths, as being under fifty

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pounds a-year, and also of all benefices which, being of small value, never were in charge in their respective dioceses. Many of these livings which were in the time of Queen Anne discharged from the payment of first fruits and tenths, as being under fifty pounds a-year, and some of those which never were charged with that payment, are now worth one hundred pounds a-year or more.

" If a more complete knowledge is wished for, and I own I think it would be desirable to have it, not only for the reason hinted briefly in my former letter, but to correct the errors of many, who over-estimate the church-endowment, a return to parliament or to the King in council of the values of all benefices with cure of souls might be ordered, and the reason assigned for this, so as not to excite an alarm, might be, — that government wished to know the actual value of all the small livings, previous to the consideration of making a better provision for a resident clergy. The enquiry, as to the livings above fifty pounds in Queen Anne's time, is certainly not improper to be made now. Many of these livings, being vicarages, are little increased since that time, though the price of provisions is trebled at the least.

" There are in many dioceses contiguous livings, the values of which, if united, would make a decent provision for a clergyman residing strictly in one of them, and doing full duty (morning and evening alternately) once every Sunday in each of them. An union of this kind is not so good in some respects as a separate provision for two resident clergymen, but it is better in other; for it would render the public burden, which must be imposed, if any thing effectual is done, less considerable.

" I shall be happy to be of any use to you in this business: if properly accomplished it will do you as much credit with posterity

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as the Irish union will do. They are both of them great measures; they will both of them be of eminent use to the present generation; but a statesman looks far beyond the present moment, and posterity is the best judge of his merit.

"I have given up my house in town, and I mention this circumstance, that if you have occasion to write to me, you may direct your letter to me at Calgarth, Kendal.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had no farther intercourse with Mr. Pitt or Lord Grenville on the business of the clergy-residence. Their intended bill was then laid aside, probably from their finding that they had not sufficiently investigated the matter, and in March, 1801, they both went out of office.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

"My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth, March 31. 1801.

"UNAVOIDABLE business has forced me to delay thanking Your Grace for your last letter longer than I ought to have done, for whether it may be in my power or not to relieve your anxiety, I should never forgive myself if I appeared inattentive to it.

"Both reason and revelation instruct us to believe that the Creator of the universe wills the happiness of his creatures, not for his own sake but for theirs. It would be impious to suppose that our vices could disturb His peace, or our virtues augment His felicity; this would be to make a God with the passions of a man, to render the infinite perfection of the Creator dependent on the

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imperfection of the creature. When, therefore, we read of the punishment denounced in the Gospel against all manner of wickedness, we may properly consider the threatening as the gracious warning of a wise and affectionate Father, rather than as the tyrannical declaration of a cruel and vindictive God. Vice and consequent misery arising from loss of health, of character, of fortune, of self-government, and other sources, are generally, if not universally, connected together in this world, and we may from reason analogically infer that, if there is another world, they will be so connected there also. Now it hath pleased God, through Jesus Christ, to assure us that there is another world, and to confirm this analogical inference by a positive declaration, that the connection which we observe here between vice and misery will remain hereafter. This declaration is made to us as if it were the arbitrary appointment of God that punishment should follow sin rather than a certain consequence springing from the nature of things, that misery should follow vice; but the conclusion rests on the same foundation in whatever way we consider the matter; for what is the nature of things, what the constitution of this world and of the next, but the positive appointment of God himself? Transgress and die is a positive law, be vicious and be miserable is a natural law, they are equally the means of God's moral government of free agents; the latter is intimated to us by reason, the former is promulgated in the Gospel, and they are, like their Author, both of them immutable. But these are not the only laws of God's moral government; there is another intimated to us by reason, and clearly made known to us by the Gospel, and it is a law which mitigates the severity of the others, which administers consolation to our fears, and strength to our

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inability, it is this, —Repent and be forgiven, —turn away from wickedness, do that which is lawful and right, and though you have sinned you shall save your soul alive; this is the voice of Revelation; and reason says, Cease from vice, and you will lessen if not wholly annihilate the misery attendant on it.

"Repentance is a change of mind accompanied by a change of conduct; this change of mind is then most perfect when it proceeds from the fear of God, from fear grounded on our love to Him, and regulated by filial reverence and humble confidence in His mercy; and it is then most sincere and certain when it is followed by a change of conduct, from viciousness to sobriety of manners, from habitual sinfulness to habitual righteousness of life. A man may be actuated by fear of punishment, and change his conduct from vice to virtue, but this does not, strictly speaking, imply such a change of mind as is essential to true repentance. When a man abstains from murder, theft, robbery, merely because he fears the gallows; when he conceals his intemperance, pride, envy, malignity, and evil propensities of any kind, merely to preserve his character from censure, and to exhibit a fair outside to the world, his heart is not right, his mind is not changed, his old man is not put off, his repentance is nothing. But when a man might commit sin with secresy, and as to all human tribunals with impunity; when he might indulge his sensuality, gratify his revenge, satiate his envy, feed his malignity, without danger to his health, fame, or fortune; when he might do these things and yet abstains from doing them, because God has forbidden him to do them, and because he is persuaded that God loves him and forbids him nothing but with a gracious design to preserve him from misery here and hereafter, then is his repent-

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ance sincere, his obedience is a reasonable service, his heart is in a proper state of resignation, humility, love, trust, and gratitude, toward the Author of all good.

" I give Mr. Pitt credit for his resignation, if it was occasioned by a resistance from another quarter to his liberal sentiments towards the Catholics in Ireland, and the Dissenters in this country, though I shall never excuse him if, for the sake of pleasing the Court, he either commenced or continued this war in opposition to his own judgment.

" I have had no inclination to examine, on a broad basis, the neutral code; this I know, that the law of nations (prior to specific convention) is nothing but the law of nature extended to communities, which, in discussions of this kind, are properly considered as individual moral persons. If A. and B., in a state of nature, quarrel, what right have either or both of them to injure C. who has no enmity to either of them? C. has commodities to sell, he is willing to sell them either to A. or B., or to both of them without distinction or preference. No, says A., you shall not sell them to B. — No, says B., you shall not sell them to A.; and thus the natural right of C. to dispose of what is his own is unjustly abridged both by A. and B.

" I am ever,

" Your Grace's faithful and obliged servant,

" R. Landaff."

In 1802, Sir William Scot introduced a bill into the House of Commons to enforce the residence of the clergy, and to protect them from some illiberal and oppressive prosecutions to which they were liable for non-residence. This bill never reached the

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House of Lords, it was stopped in its progress thither by Lord Grenville's having stated, that a more effectual measure had been in contemplation, and would be by him brought forward.

In the following June (1802) I visited my diocese, and published my Charge, which I had written with a view to promote the due consideration of one of those reforms in the church which I had proposed twenty years before. I sent copies of this Charge to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, to put them in mind of what had passed between us on the subject two years before; and to Mr. Addington, the then minister, that I might rouse his attention to it. I foresaw that I should not be in town during the winter, and I was, on that account, desirous of communicating my sentiments through the medium of the press.

Letter to George Hardinge, Esq., in Answer to one of his, mentioning his Design of writing something of Importance.

" My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, Feb. 19th, 1803.

" I HAVE read your letter with great pleasure: I like to listen to a man of parts, *multa et præclara minantem.* Of all your various projects, I most approve of the life of your uncle. I was not indeed pleased with what I thought a desertion of his principles in the latter part of his life, yet as you assure me that this change proceeded not from interested compliances with the will of another, but from a real change of sentiment, I am reconciled to it. This life would afford you a great opportunity of enlarging upon the injustice, and impolicy, of the American war; of delivering your sentiments on the causes and the occa-

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sions of the French Revolution; and of divining the consequences of these two great events to ourselves, to Europe, and to mankind. Next to the life of your uncle, I like a disquisition on Criminal Law. In writing on this subject, the matter should be taken up *ab ovo*, from that only first origin of all human governments — compact; and it should be pursued through all its branches; embracing the civil and religious relations of men to the state, and to each other. The works of Puffendorf and Grotius, the Frederician Code, as well as that of Justinian, the Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany for the reform of criminal law in his dominions, translated into English, and printed at Warrington, but not sold, in 1789, and a variety of other books better known to you than to me, would be useful helps in such an undertaking. Before you begin it, you will consider *quid valeant humeri;* I do not mean whether your talents are equal to such a task, I assume that as a point admitted, but whether you can assure to yourself comfort in such severe and continued application, as a work of that importance would require. I have ordered a copy of my Sermons and Tracts to be left for you at your house. You will accept it as a pledge of my regard; and in my letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the appendix to it, you will see what I then thought of the state of the church and still think. Your uncle saw this letter some months before it was published, and returned it to me with saying, "There was not a line in it which did not contain a great "truth, but that it would take me twenty years to overcome "men's prejudices." He went afterwards into administration, but he never spoke to me a word on the subject; what encouragement had I to proceed? One of the reforms proposed in

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that letter has at length been deemed worthy the consideration of government, and I have communicated three years ago my sentiments very fully to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, who were then engaged in framing a bill to enforce the residence of the clergy: the bishops are at present destitute of the power of doing it; and there are thousands of cases in the present state of the provision for the clergy in which it ought not to be done, had they the power. I offered last year, first to the Archbishop, and afterwards to the bishops in general, at a meeting at Lambeth, to make, with their approbation, the following motion in the House of Lords, and to support it: — That a committee, consisting of six temporal and six spiritual Peers, be appointed, to take into consideration the laws respecting the *maintenance*, and the *residence* of the clergy, and to make a report to the House. I thought this was the most dignified and the most intelligent mode of proceeding, in order to obtain a sure basis for a future bill enforcing residence; my opinion was not adopted, but it was thought advisable that Sir W. Scot's bill should be brought forward. Can you wonder that I decline farther interference in this business? What I think of the matter is sufficiently known by my writings, and from my correspondence will be known to those who have the power to effectuate the purpose; and it will be, probably, as well done in my absence as if I were present; for there will then be no obstruction, arising from envy and jealousy, little passions, no doubt! but such as sometimes appertain to men in high stations.

" I have an aversion to letter-writing, especially on subjects of moment, because an hour's conversation would settle points which a year's correspondence would leave undecided; but I

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have trespassed for this once on your time and my own, because I wished to show my regard for the myrtle.

" Feb. 19. 1803."

Lord Sheffield had desired me to give him some information relative to the growth and consumption of Oak-timber; and on the 17th of March, 1803, I sent him the following letter: —

" My Lord,

" In my preliminary observations, prefixed to Mr. Pringle's Agricultural Report of the County of Westmoreland, (8vo. edition,) there are some calculations, respecting the growth of oak and of larch wood, upon which, after a re-perusal, I am disposed to rely, and to these I refer Your Lordship for the main part of what I know on the subject of your intended publication: I could furnish more particulars, but the general inferences would not be altered thereby.

" In a book now before me, entitled, — Planting and Ornamental Gardening, published by Dodsley in 1785, it is said, (p. 499.) that a seventy-four gun ship takes two thousand trees of two tons each, and, supposing forty such trees growing on an acre, clears fifty acres of woodland. This may be so, but the observation does not extend far enough. Admitting, however, this to be a fact, and supposing that the navy, for the construction of new ships, and the repair of old ones, would require ten times that quantity annually, 500 acres would supply the annual consumption, and fifty thousand acres would supply the demand for ever, if trees of one hundred years' growth are large enough for navy timber.

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" The way of ascertaining the real annual consumption of oak-timber in ship-building, seems to be, first to ascertain (I suppose from the Custom-House books) the number of tons of British shipping of all kinds, annually employed in Great Britain; next to derive, from the information of different ship-builders, the quantity of oak used per ton in ship-building, on an average of all sorts of ships; from these two sources of information a proper inference may be drawn, ascertaining the quantity of oak used in the construction of all the shipping now in Great Britain, which being divided by the number of years which such shipping will on an average last, we shall then know the quantity annually wanted to keep us in *statu quo* for ever.

" An oak coppice is, with us, worth twenty pounds a statute acre at fifteen years' growth; supposing money to double itself in fifteen years at compound interest of 5*l.* per cent., and every succeeding fall to be of the same value as the first, then in seven falls, or in 105 years, an acre would produce 2540*l.*, a sum so exceedingly surpassing the value of 40 trees of 105 years' growth, even with taking into consideration the value of the underwood whilst any remained, that the comparison need not be instituted, if profit is solely attended to in the management of woods.

" I this year sold a customary acre (6760 square yards) of oak, of 29 years' growth, from an old stub, for 126*l.*, and left standing 260 of the best trees, the value of which I estimate at 40*l.*, so that the clear value of this coppice may be put at 166*l.* If we trace this sum, even supposing that the stub did not shoot out again, and that the whole had been cut, it will appear that in 75 years, (that is in 104 years' growth,) it will at a compound interest of 5*l.* per cent amount to 6446*l.*

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" *Evelyn* gives some instances of the value of oak woods at different periods of their growth, in order to show the advantage of letting them stand till a great age, but he has forgotten to take into consideration the increase of the money at compound interest, which they were worth when first valued, compared with what they were worth at the second valuation.

" *Mr. South*, in sixth volume of the Bath Agricultural Letters, has bestowed much attention on the management of woods; and, though objections might properly be made to some parts of his reasoning, it may be worth while to look into that book.

" *Buffon* and *Du Hamel* are accurate writers, and of great estimation, respecting the growth and management of woods: I have not their works at hand, but I remember that there is much information to be met with, relative to your enquiries, in the first volume of Du Hamel's treatise, — *De L'Exploitation des Bois.*

" If in any thing else I can promote your endeavours for the public good, I beg you would command me without scruple.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Sir William Scot introduced a new bill into the House of Commons, in 1803; and on the 31st of March in that year, a debate came on in the House of Lords, relative to suspending the act of the 21st of Hen. VIII., respecting the residence of the clergy, till the 8th of the following July, when the Bishop of St. Asaph proposed an amendment, by inserting instead of the 8th of July the 13th of May. He withdrew his motion on the assurance of the Chancellor, and of the Lords Alvanley and Ellenborough, that they would not consent to any longer suspension than to the

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8th of July. Expecting no good from the violent and hasty manner in which Sir W. Scot's new bill was called for in this debate, I wrote the following letter to the Lord Chancellor Eldon: —

" Calgarth Park, Kendal, April 6. 1803.

" My Lord Chancellor,

" I HAVE ordered a copy of my late Charge to the clergy of my diocese to be left at your house, as it contains a few observations respecting the residence of the clergy; and I take the liberty of troubling Your Lordship with this letter on the same subject, as I do not foresee any probability of my attending parliament during this session.

" When I was in London last year, I made the following proposal to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the first place, and afterwards to the bishops collectively assembled at Lambeth. — That, thinking it consistent with the duty and the dignity of the bishops to undertake the protection of the clergy, a motion should be made in the House of Lords, for the appointment of a committee, consisting of six spiritual and six temporal peers, to take into consideration the laws respecting the *residence* and the *maintenance* of the clergy, and to make a report to the House, as a basis for a future bill. I added, that I was far from wishing to appear forward in the business, but that if no other bishop would do it, I was ready, with their concurrence, and with that of the minister, to make and support the motion.

" This proposal was not adopted; and whilst I staid in town I gave what assistance I could, in revising your brother's bill. This bill, for which the country and the clergy are highly indebted to the author of it, was not brought into the House of Lords.

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That Sir William Scot should have again occupied his mind with the affairs of the church is a great instance of his courtesy and good disposition towards it, and I am astonished at seeing his designs thwarted by the precipitancy of those who ought to have known the difficulty of the undertaking.

" I dislike palliatives in curing great national evils. If the non-residence of the clergy is so great an evil as to require the interposition of the legislature to check it, I wish the check to be effectual. But before any thing is done, it ought undoubtedly to be proved, that the evil is of a magnitude to require such interposition. This may be effected by a short act of parliament, requiring the bishops to make a return to the King in council or otherwise, of all the resident, and of all the non-resident clergy, (with the reasons of their non-residence, where they are known,) in their respective dioceses.

" The magnitude of the evil being, by this or by any better mode, sufficiently ascertained, its origin would then, with propriety, come into consideration; for the cause of the malady should be distinctly investigated, before an adequate remedy can be applied.

" This evil of non-residence, of whatever magnitude it may be, appears to me to originate chiefly in the scanty provision which is made for the greatest number of the parochial clergy, by which they are compelled to accumulate as many benefices as they can hold, in order to provide a proper maintenance for themselves and their families.

" There may be instances of country clergymen who occasionally live in towns; but these instances are, comparatively speaking, not numerous, nor are they in all cases to be blamed. A

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man of great talents, and good manners, may, by mingling with the higher classes of society in great towns, as essentially promote the belief and practice of Christianity, as if he were constantly conversant with a dozen peasants, his parishioners, in a country village. The want of medical assistance; the desire of giving a suitable education to his own children; the hope of bettering his situation, by educating the children of others; the being engaged in literary pursuits, where a variety of books is required; these, and such like causes, are the main ones which induce some of the clergy to wish for a town-residence; and if their place is supplied in the country by a resident curate, I cannot think that much mischief will follow from such an indulgence being granted to a few, and it will never be desired by many of the body. Nay, if a young man should be accidentally inspired with an ambition to display his talents before a more respectable audience than his country parish affords him, his ambition should be rather encouraged, than ridiculed and restrained; for a desire of acquiring professional fame is, next to poverty, the great source of professional excellence and industry.

" I am so far from thinking the following three months too long a period for suspending the operation of the act of the 21st Hen. VIII., that I heartily wish it were suspended for three years, and that the intermediate time were employed by parliament in probing the sore so loudly complained of to the bottom, and in preparing a lenient, but at the same time a radical remedy.

" The bishops, in my simple judgment, should, by an act passed in the present session, be empowered and enjoined to make a return, in the course of twelve months, of the real value of every living in their several dioceses, not exceeding the yearly

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value of 100*l.* after the manner which was prescribed by the discharging act in the 5th of Queen Anne; or, which would be still better, commissioners, as in Henry VIIIth's time, should be appointed to make a new survey of all ecclesiastical property, in whose patronage soever it is vested. Parliament would then, having the whole matter clearly before them, be enabled to deliberate coolly and intelligently on the subject; and would, I have no doubt, finally pass such acts relative to the *residence* and *support* of the parochial clergy, as would be of singular benefit to the country in a political, as well as in a religious view.

"Your Lordship and the two other learned lords from whom I so essentially differ in opinion, as to the period beyond which the suspension ought not to be extended, will pardon me, I am persuaded, when I profess that this difference proceeds from no principle whatever, except from a strong conviction of the importance of the subject; and from an anxious desire, that the evil of non-residence may be done away, and the honour and utility of the church establishment be thereby ascertained and secured.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. Landaff."

No attention was paid to this letter, and I interfered no farther in the business. I neither thought so highly of the Chancellor's talents on any subject, nor so meanly of my own on the subject of an ecclesiastical reform, as to judge that it became me to overlook his discourtesy in not answering my letter. The bill was passed into an act, which has rather increased than lessened the evil of clerical non-residence.

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Letter to Professor Findlay, at Glasgow, on his sending me his Publication on the Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures.

" Reverend Sir, April 5th, 1803.

" I HAVE at length received and read with attention your Essay on the Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures. I observe in it the same patient investigation of your subject which I so much admired many years ago, when I first perused your book in answer to Voltaire.

" I had not *St. Augustin*'s work at hand when I quoted him, nor do I now recollect from whence I took the quotation; but I perfectly well recollect, that my intention in making that, and the quotation from Bishop *Law*, was to induce Mr. *Paine* and other unbelievers to consider, whether the Bible might not be worthy their attention, as containing true histories of various transactions, though the writers of those histories might not be inspired in every particular.

" *Josephus*, in his first book against *Apion*, says, — ' Such things as passed in ancient times, quite beyond the memory of man, were only written by the Prophets, who had the knowledge thereof by inspiration from God;' (*Lodge's Translation*, p. 766. in this retirement I cannot have access to the original;) and he then enumerates the twenty-two books constituting the Jewish Canon.

" Every Jew, I suppose, held the same opinion, as to the inspiration of their sacred books, that Josephus did. The ιερα γραμματα in which Timothy had been instructed were these books. There was no occasion for St. Paul to tell him that these books were inspired: he *knew* it. But there was occasion to inform a

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young man, that, in becoming a minister of the Gospel, he would find every inspired writing, all the ἱερὰ γραμμάτα, profitable for doctrine, &c. This appears to me to be the sense of the passage; and, if it is, the καὶ is an interpolation.

"But I may be wrong in this notion, and have no taste for theological subtilties, though I highly value such candid criticism as you have shown in your Essay. Wishing you health and happiness, and the attainment of truth in all your studies,

"I am, with great esteem, &c.

"R. Landaff."

To an old friend of mine, who had expressed his surprise at my suffering the Clergy Residence Bill to be agitated, without my taking any part in it, I sent the following letter, as an explanation of my conduct: —

"My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, 9th April, 1803.

"I enclose a copy of a letter which I sent to the Chancellor, as soon as I had read the debate in the House of Lords, relative to the Clergy Residence Bill. I know not how it will be received, for all statesmen are terribly conceited things; as if they wished the world to believe, that a King's nomination to office gave wisdom as well as power.

"I feel happy in having thus done my duty, and am perfectly indifferent what ministry may think of my interfering in this way.

"I stated to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, about three years ago, in a long detail, my opinion of what ought to be done. It coincided pretty much with what they had intended; and if Lord

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Grenville brings forward any measure, as he promised last year to do, we shall see what use is made of my notions. The Bishop of Durham is also acquainted with my sentiments; as I sent him, the last summer, a copy of my letter to Mr. Pitt, which he was polite enough to approve, calling it a state paper.

"I am grown too old to think of figuring as a parliamentary debater. Had I been treated with confidence and respect by administration, twenty years ago, I could have taken a great lead in the House of Lords, and rendered both to the church and state some service, without being glued by the strongest of all cements, — self-interest (a circumstance I have always abhorred,) to any party.

"I have more of *Melancthon* than of *Luther* in my composition. I wish reforms to take place, but I detest violence and contention. I give my advice freely; but if it is not followed, I content myself with thinking that it ought to have been followed; and thus, combining pride with humility, let the matter drop.

"I like all the objects you speak of in your letter, for the materials of your relation's life. Methodise the whole before you begin any part: imitate, at least read with attention, some of the best Lives of Plutarch, and fear not producing an excellent work; not an ephemeral farrago of newspaper trash, but a κ]ημα εις αει worthy of you and of him.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

In his answer to the above, my friend hinted, that robes and furred gowns did not do me justice, and pressed me with much

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importunity to go to town. I sent him the following letter, June 21. 1803:—

" Fidis offendar medicis irascar amicis
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno?

" This cannot be said of me; I feel no symptoms of lethargy, and am so far from being angry with such friends as wish to rectify, by the standard of their wisdom, what they esteem an obliquity in my conduct, that I think myself indebted to their kindness for the attempt. This, my dear Sir, is meant for yourself. To others who impertinently demand, why I do not come to town? I answer with the spirit of Cæsar—Go tell them I will not come. I also have my robes and furred gowns, and I know that they have been as honourably obtained and as purely preserved as any of theirs; and, *detracta ista pelle* on both sides, I am ready to meet in argument, on the subject of the Church, the wisest He in St. Stephen's Chapel. Have I not met him? Was my letter to the Chancellor a thing of no value, deserving of no answer? No answer has been given; should I not be wanting in the respect I owe to myself, if I condescended to take a part in a business commenced and carried on in a way contrary to my advice?

" I affect not the reputation of a statesman or of a churchman; but when I compare myself with either the statesmen or with the churchmen of the present day, I have not the meanness to think, that my advice on any subject is not of weight enough to arrest the attentions of the wisest of them both.

" I am not so silly as to expect that every man can think with me, nor so *farouche* as to be displeased with any one who differs

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from me in opinion; but the —Reverence thyself—is ever too much in my mind to suffer me to support measures which I disapprove, and I wholly disapprove the present mode of securing the residence of the clergy.

"Read over again my letter to the Lord Chancellor, and my last letter to yourself, and if they do not satisfy you that I am right in looking forward to a more substantial ecclesiastical reform, and in not promoting this botchy business, you must forgive me if I never say another word to you on the subject.

"To you, my friend, I will say, that my church-preferment will not afford a journey to London every year; and I do not feel myself bound by any principle of prudence, of honour, or of duty, to waste my little private fortune, which by incessant exertion of my own and the kindness of my friends, I have provided for my children, in the public service. For eighteen years I attended parliament; my children during that period wanted education; that want being over, I gave up, three years ago, my house in town, with a determination that till I was better provided for, I would not go to London excepting every other year. As to those you may meet with (plenty of them no doubt!) who, without knowing my present circumstances, without adverting to the labours of my past life, presume to blurt out their cavils and their calumnies, I wish them not to hear from my friends any other defence, for they will never hear any other from me, except γρυ-γρυ, the full meaning of which you will understand, though they will not.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

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My friend still continued to urge me to go to town: I put a final stop to his well-intentioned importunity by the following letter, dated June 31. 1803: —

" My dear Sir,

" Your *exhortations* or *admonitions* — be they what they may — are considered by me as scions springing from a root of friendship; to pluck them off with indignation is not my intention, but I must not suffer them to increase: they would rob the root of its proper vigour, and I wish it to remain unimpaired.

" *Parmenio* and *Alexander* are the representatives of all men who give and who reject advice. It is impossible for different men to have the same feelings or to see objects in the same light; all that can be done to preserve harmony, is either for the one party not to give advice, or for the other not to be angry at its being given, and with this observation, I, at least, will let the subject of your three letters drop. Yet if I thought fit to follow the impulse of my mind, it would be to examine all you have urged or can urge on the *interest*, the *fame*, and the *duty*, and to show the hollowness of the argument derived from the combination of those three powers, by which you in vain attempt to lift up a Colossus. But I check myself, knowing the swiftness of your *currentem calamum*, and knowing also that of epistolary altercation there is no end, and that I have other employment more interesting, though not more pleasing, than the perusal even of your compositions.

" Your letters are so classical, and your *verba ardentia* so electrical, that they almost fire my frozen age, and tempt me to discharge upon you a sort of reciprocal lightning; and in this

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elegant communication of soul (for sentiment is the soul of man) I could be content to evaporate the remaining breath of life; but I have other things in hand.

" There was a period in which the Greek and Roman classics delighted me; another, in which I sought for fame in mathematical and philosophical knowledge; a third, in which chemistry, for full seven years, occupied all my attention,—and I arrogate to myself the honour, not only of recommending it to the University of Cambridge, but to the notice of the kingdom in general; a fourth, in which theology demanded my care,—not *that* theology which is degraded, disfigured, rendered hideous and portentous, by the shreds of crude opinions, by the patches of miserable superstitions, which the knavery and audacity of intolerant and selfish men have fastened every where upon it,—but *that* which the Father of the universe has written with the hand of what is called Nature, for the information of all; and particularly *that* which He hath declared to a peculiar people, by the mouth of his Son.

" To all these objects of various pursuit, has succeeded that of agriculture. The cultivation of our mother earth is the noblest way of providing for a family; so says Bacon, and I have found it so; and it is a sure way of rendering service to the country. The county of Westmoreland will long have cause to thank the Bishop of Landaff for the example he has set, not of chaffering with peasants about the price of bullocks, but of making bad land good, of introducing new modes of husbandry, and of planting mountains.

" The parliamentary eloquence of a Cicero, unless exerted in the support of a party, will not procure an honest man a morsel

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of bread; it may, perchance, enable a dishonest man to sell his independence and his public probity at an high price.

"My laurels, you say, must be fed: my temples, alas! are withering with age, and it disturbs not me that the few laurels which surround them are withering also; they have been blighted for above twenty years, by *royal* or *ministerial* neglect: disdaining all further care about them, I leave them to be torn away by the ignorant and the malignant who busy themselves in my concerns. They are not his father's laurels, but his father's larches, which will make Major Watson as independent in fortune as I hope he will be in spirit.

"I was never fond of public life, though I have been compelled, on many occasions, to take a share in it; but my powers are declining, and I will not wait for a Gil Blas to tell me so. — *Quis hoc non dederit nobis, ut cum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti, sive nolit; ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti hominis, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi reipublicæ præponendam putaverunt.*

"The NON POSSIT respects the will of a minister being opposed by the will of the court, if that is the case; the NOLIT respects one or both of them; and I have ever thought it beneath me to enquire, which of them is to be blamed as my enemy.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 21st of August, 1803, I received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, informing me that the bishops would send separate addresses. The prospect of an invasion had called forth a great spirit of true patriotism, and addresses were gene-

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rally presented to the King: I drew up the following, and sent it, August 22., to be signed in my diocese: —

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address of the Bishop, the Archdeacon and Chapter, and the Clergy of the Diocese of Landaff.

"Sire,

"As Ministers of the Gospel we pray for the peace of Christendom, and of the world; as subjects of Your Majesty, we call to mind, and with the utmost sincerity of soul we renew the obligation of the oath of allegiance, which we have heretofore individually taken; and as men jealous of their freedom, we, on this occasion, solemnly pledge ourselves to maintain, with our best ability, the independency of our country.

"Glorious and unexampled on the surface of the earth is Your Majesty's situation! Princes there are who reign over more extensive regions. Princes there are who support their thrones in times of peace by more numerous armies, and who exercise over their subjects a more unlimited sway. But where is the Prince, in Europe or in the world, who, in the day of danger, sees himself protected, as Your Majesty is, by the united efforts of all his people? — by the persons of those who are able to wield a weapon — by the prayers of the aged and of the sex — by the purses of the rich — and by the hearts of all.

"We humbly implore Almighty God to bless these noble efforts of a brave, a loyal, and an enlightened nation, struggling for the safety of their King, and of his Royal house, and deter-

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mined to die in the just defence of their religion, their liberty, and their country."

Did the treatment I had met with from the King deserve such an address? Did it not become me, at such a time, to write such an address? It certainly did; for I should have been ashamed of the littleness of my own mind, if I had suffered private discontent to generate in me either indifference to the public safety, or disaffection to the King. If kings form wrong judgments of the characters of any of their subjects, they are rather to be pitied than condemned for their error; they can have no interest in thinking of any man either better or worse than he deserves; but they are usually surrounded with men who may have both interest and malignant pleasure in misleading them; and it would be an excess of candour to say, that neither churchmen or laymen of that description surrounded the throne of George the Third.

On the 30th August, I received from Lord William Gordon copies of several letters, which had recently passed between the King, the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Addington, with a permission to take copies of them. The letters had been sent to His Lordship by the Duke of Queensberry, who thought that I might wish to see them. Though I had no acquaintance with His Grace, I acknowledged his civility in the following note, dated Calgarth Park, Sept. 2. 1803: —

"The Bishop of Landaff returns many thanks to the Duke of Queensberry for the sight of the important letters which Lord

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William Gordon, by His Grace's permission, has had the goodness to show him. The Bishop has been particularly gratified by the perusal of those of the Prince of Wales, as they confirm the judgment which he had long ago formed, and always maintained, of His Royal Highness's public character,—*That he was a man occupied in trifles, because he had no opportunity of displaying his talents in the conduct of great concerns.*

" The Bishop of Landaff, being older than the King, can entertain no reasonable expectation of seeing the Prince of Wales upon the throne, but his filial piety, discretion, and magnanimity shown in the business of the regency, as well as on the present occasion, are to the Bishop strong omens, that the Prince of Wales will support his future station in a manner which will bring deserved credit to himself, and consequent happiness to his people."

Continuing to be haunted with the idea of danger, not only from knowing the power and inveteracy of France, but from observing the distraction of our councils, the apathy of Europe as to the fate of Britain, and its improvidence as to its own; I wrote the following letter to Mr. Addington the then Minister, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, Oct. 17. 1803:—

" Sir,

" You will forgive me, I hope, if I trouble you with some suggestions excited by my fears; to you alone will I acknowledge my apprehensions for the safety of the kingdom; to all other men I shall continue to hold a bolder language than my view of the circumstances of the country justifies.

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" Europe is improvidently blind to its own interest; or she is so weakened as not to be able to repel the danger she foresees; or she is so irritated against us, on account of the manner in which we have used our naval superiority, as to contemplate, with secret satisfaction, the probability of its diminution or extinction. From some cause or other she stands aloof, and leaves us to struggle singly with the storm, which threatens this country in the first instance, and the civilised world in the second.

" France and her allies (as she nicknames her conquered countries) can bring into the field four men for our one; yet our insular situation, combined with the spirit of the country, may enable us to bear up against this superiority of numbers, if this spirit is aroused to its utmost energy, and directed to its best advantage. I am not acquainted with your opinion relative to two great measures, which (were I in His Majesty's councils) I would earnestly press on the consideration of my colleagues at this critical moment. If in these points I differ, which is most probable, from yourself, as I am sensible I differ from some others whose general judgments I much esteem, I request that you would not think me actuated in mentioning them by any other principle than the warmest attachment to the general safety. The measures I allude to are,—the repeal of the Test-Act in England, — and the making an adequate provision for the Catholic bishops and clergy in Ireland. These are measures not merely of expediency but of strict justice, and I dislike all political measures which are not bottomed on that basis.

" It has been said, in print, that the Dissenters in England constitute a fourth part of the whole community; I do not be-

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lieve them to be so numerous, but they are too numerous to be treated with harshness, especially as the Established Church would not be injured, and the State would be greatly strengthened by their being treated otherwise.

" The tithes in Ireland should remain in the possession of the Protestant clergy; but a kind of co-establishment of the Catholic clergy should be admitted; for it appears to me an act of great oppression, that the Catholics, who constitute a great majority of the nation, should be compelled to maintain not only their own teachers, but the teachers also of a small minority of the country.

" I forbear dilating on the beneficial policy of either of these measures, and I should not have presumed to mention them at all, had they not been long and impartially considered by me, and finally adopted from a strong conviction of their justice and utility. Permit me a word or two more on two other subjects.

" Excess of taxation has ruined most countries, and it will ruin this, by rendering the middle class of people indifferent to its prosperity; and they already begin every where to complain that they have less comforts now than they had forty years ago. Yet I think the whole country would willingly give up such a portion of its property as would discharge the national debt, if it could thereby be freed from those vexatious taxes of which a considerable part is lost before it reaches the Exchequer. The true principle of taxation is this, —That every man should pay for the protection of his property by the state, in exact proportion to the property protected, just as merchants who risk their goods on board a vessel pay an insurance in proportion to the value of the goods insured. If a man who has an estate of 200*l.* a-year,

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pays 10*l.* a-year to Government, he pays a six-hundredth part of his whole property, supposing the estate to be worth thirty years' purchase. A man of 60*l.* a-year should on the same principle pay 3*l.*, and it is an arbitary proceeding to maintain that a man of 60*l.* a-year is not as able (I mean with as little inconvenience to himself) to pay 3*l.* as one of 200*l.* a-year is to pay 10*l.*

"The attention of Government has been principally and properly directed to the protection of the metropolis, whilst other parts have been unavoidably left, in a manner, destitute of the means of defence. Might it not be useful to commit to the custody of the Lords-Lieutenants of counties large quantities of pikes, to be distributed out to steady men as occasion might require. Men armed with pikes might prove a strong subsidiary force to the volunteers of the country. In these parts, at least, I am confident that thousands of respectable yeomen and their sons, who are averse from the volunteering system, would, when armed with pikes, stand forth with promptitude and courage to aid the regulars or volunteers armed with muskets, in attacking an enemy who should attempt to pass through the country.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Mr. Addington sent a liberal and complimentary answer: he concurred with me in most of the sentiments which I had expressed, but differed in opinion respecting the repeal of the Test-Act. This difference I had foreseen; but it did not deter me from maintaining my own, in a speech which I published within a month after this correspondence had taken place, and which I had intended to have delivered in the House of Lords.

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None of the four great objects recommended in that speech have been adopted by Government; but I cannot esteem that neglect to be a reason why I should change my opinion of the utility and practicability of every one of them: each of them is an important mean of public safety, and in the present circumstances they are all necessary.

There is an error in that speech respecting the question I maintained when a soph at Cambridge, for instead of differing from Grotius I agreed with him *then:* the three questions on which I kept my first act were, I find,

Primarii planetæ retinentur in orbitis suis vi gravitatis et motu projectili.

Contra crescentem potentiam quæ nimium aucta nocere possit non licet arma sumere.

Paterna Romanorum potestas legi naturæ repugnat.

Amongst others who honoured me with letters expressive of their opinions on various parts of my intended speech, Mr. Rose sent me one from Cuffnells, dated December 5th, 1803, to which I immediately sent the following answer: —

" Sir,

" I HAVE received your letter of the 5th of this month, and desire to return you my best thanks for it. You have stated some difficulties relative to the ascertaining the property of individuals which did not occur to me; but these and others which did occur I am of opinion might be easily obviated by an intelligent

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committee of the House of Commons heartily disposed to the business; and, without flattery, I dare venture to say, that they would vanish before your own investigation, if you were at leisure, and had inclination to apply your whole mind to the subject. If men, however, of your wisdom and experience think the *taxing of capital* an impracticable measure, I am not so self-sufficient, as to suppose that I may not, probably, be mistaken in thinking otherwise.

" I do not mean to enter more at large into the consideration of this or of any other political subject. I have on all occasions conscientiously endeavoured to serve my country in my public character; but I can employ my time more pleasantly, and, perhaps, you may think more usefully, than in political discussions. Trembling as I do for the fate of the country, I have given this publication to the world as my last effort to serve the public interest: I have great reason to hope that it will be of use, and with it I shall probably close my political life.

" When in page 19. I mentioned an efficacious approximation to the measure of paying off the national debt, I had distinctly in view what has been done (and most wisely and providently, yet not sufficiently, done,) towards the discharge of it. What I principally want is to accelerate the means of doing this, being fearful lest the discontent, which is yearly increasing among all descriptions of persons, should break out into dangerous excess in a short time, or should alienate the minds of the middle class from a love to their country.

" The language every where is, (absurd no doubt in the extreme,) what have we to fight for? We have not a drop of beer to drink, nor an horse to ride, nor a window to let in light, &c.

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&c.: what have we to fight for? My opinion still is, that a large demand at once, with a prospect of being thereby relieved from certain galling taxes, would be more willingly submitted to than the present mode of fluctuating and irritating taxation.

"In this retirement I had no access to Lord Bacon's works: I made my quotation from Willymot's translation of the Essays in 1742, and it is probably not accurate. You are right in your conjecture: Bacon wrote his essays in English, and translated them into Latin, and Willymot's translation is from the Latin, but with licence I suppose.

"In acquitting me of any design to mislead the public or to give the shadow of obstruction *at this time* to the measures of Government, you do me no more than justice; for that justice, however, I thank you, and am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

At the meeting of parliament in 1812, there prevailed a rumour that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended proposing a tax on capital; and, on the Chancellor's disclaiming such intention, Mr. Rose declared that he had always thought such a tax to be impossible and impracticable, and that he had informed a right reverend prelate, with whom the idea of such a tax, he believed, originated, of his opinion. Mr. Whitbread, in his reply, said, that it was very hard to refer to a person who was some hundreds of miles distant. I immediately wrote the following note to Mr. Whitbread, enclosing a long extract from my letter to Mr. Pitt in 1797:—

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" Sir, Kendal, Calgarth Park, 7th Dec. 1812.

" I do not suspect Mr. Rose of any design to misrepresent me; but your reply deserves and has my best thanks.

" I trouble you with an extract of a letter to Mr. Pitt, dated April 7th, 1797, soon after the stoppage of the Bank, as containing my first sentiments on a tax on capital; and I refer you to the second volume of Tooke's " View of the Russian Empire in 1799," (p. 515.) as a proof that such a tax is neither impossible or impracticable. I am, with high esteem,

" Your obliged servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

There may be some difficulty in taxing mercantile property; but great accuracy on such a business is not wanted: if a few millions of property should escape untaxed, the loss to the revenue would not be of material consequence.

I went to London in the following Spring, and seeing the miserable state in which the country was placed, partly from want of national confidence in the Minister, and partly from the persevering hostile preparations of the enemy, I made the following short speech in the House of Lords, March 27th, 1804: —

" My Lords,

" I HAVE no intention of troubling Your Lordships at great length: I have little, or to speak more properly, I have no military knowledge; but I love my country, and I cannot see it tottering on the extremest verge of destruction, without uttering a cry, however faint, without stretching out an arm, however

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feeble, to prevent its fall. The die, My Lords, is in the air; may God direct its fall in our favour! The die is in the air which, by its fall, will indicate the ruin of Bonaparte or of Britain; which will indicate the consequent reduction of France within its ancient limits, or the consequent reduction of all the States of Europe under the military yoke of France. To avert this catastrophe from ourselves requires not so much, I think, the co-operation of certain individuals, however honourable in principle, however eminent in ability, (and no one thinks of their honour or of their ability more respectably than I do,) but this co-operation is not so much required in the present circumstances of the country, as an entire, cordial, disinterested concurrence of all the talents in the empire. I am far from insinuating, My Lords, that those who may thus co-operate are influenced by any selfish views, by any ambitious prospects of place or power; no, on my conscience, I am of opinion, that their primary object is the salvation of the country. Nor, on the other hand, do I take upon me to impute to the administration, what has been so abundantly laid to their charge, — inability. I at least have no public document, no private knowledge of them, which enables me to form a proper judgment. But if they have been guilty of some mistakes, surely the novelty and unparalleled difficulty of their situation will with many, at least it will with me, plead their excuse. With respect to the Volunteer Bill now before the House, this is not the time to enter into any discussion of its several provisions; nor is it now a question to be debated, whether the volunteer system is the best possible system which could have been devised for the defence of the country: it is the system which has been adopted, and it cannot now be

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abandoned with safety. I own I have always considered it as a system most noble in its principle; most difficult in its execution; and most successful, I trust it will be found, in its operation. No country in the world has ever given a stronger proof of the patriotism of its inhabitants, than the volunteers of Great Britain have given. They consist not of an indebted, discontented, miserable rabble of the country, but of men of rank, of men of letters, of men of property, of respectable yeomen, tradesmen, manufacturers, of all descriptions of reputable persons, from the peer to the peasant, from the enlightened statesman to the political peruser of a weekly newspaper or monthly magazine. All are animated with an ardent zeal to defend their country. And why, My Lords, are they all animated with this zeal? because all know that there is not now, nor ever was a country on the globe, in which all enjoy, in their several stations, the various blessings of civilised society, so securely and so abundantly as every individual enjoys in this. This is the knowledge which has excited and carried to an unexampled height the spirit of volunteering. This spirit is not a vain, frivolous, holiday kind of spirit delighted with military parade: it is not a sour, saucy, capricious spirit, disdaining reproof, regulation, and restraint. No, it is a manly spirit of enlightened patriotism, which is sensible that to produce its proper effect it stands in need of, and ought to submit to, instruction, discipline, and direction. But supposing the volunteer system to be brought by the wisdom of Your Lordships, and the other House of Parliament, united with that of His Majesty's ministers, to the utmost degree of perfection of which it is capable, another question presents itself, — Is it sufficient for our protection? I am not able to answer this

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question, nor, so precarious are the events of war, is any man able to answer it with certainty; but supposing that it is not sufficient, what need is there for our despair? There are abundant resources to supply the deficiency of the volunteer system. Do you want arms? Why not put all the gunsmiths, sword-cutlers, and blacksmiths in the empire into requisition, till you have procured all the muskets, swords, and pikes, which are wanted? Do you want men? Why not call out (for I am clearly of opinion that the King has a right to call out) every man in the country, not already enrolled in its defence, and capable of bearing arms, putting into the hands of these men the arms which you shall have prepared? Do you want horses? Why not put in requisition every coach and saddle horse in the empire, to be trained and fitted for the various purposes of war? No man on such an occasion will grudge to transact his business on foot; Your Lordships will be proud to set the example by *walking* down to this House; and the sex, I speak it to their honour, will on such an occasion be content to stay at home. Do you want ships? Why not hire all the merchantmen and small craft which can be speedily fitted for your purpose? As to large ships, let our enemies build them, and let us trust to our gallant admirals, and the tars of old England, to conduct them into the ports of Great Britain. Do you want money? Scruple not the imposition of taxes at this moment. Property is the creature of civil society; the state has a right to all individual property, if it is wanted, for the general safety; and as the money, thus raised, will circulate amongst ourselves, wealth may chance to change hands, but the nation will not be impoverished. These, or measures such as these, if brought forward with promptitude,

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and executed with vigour, may, when modified by parliamentary wisdom, save the country. I dread the genius, I dread the power, I dread the intrigue of the enemy, and above all, I dread the effect of that political paralysis, with which, by his arms and by his intrigues, he has deadened the activity of every cabinet on the Continent. Yet I firmly rely on the courage, and on the unanimity of this country to repel an invasion. Of this country, did I say? I certainly meant to include Ireland in my idea: the testimony which she yesterday gave us, in His Majesty's message, of her attachment to us, warmed my heart: it put to flight from my imagination the terrors excited by the apprehension of an hundred thousand Frenchmen. No personal services, no privation of luxuries, no diminution of property ought to be complained of, while we are struggling for our existence as a free people. For my own part, I had rather live upon clap-bread and water, and be shod with the wooden clogs of Westmoreland for the rest of my life, as a free subject of this limited monarchy, than be pampered with all the delicacies, cockered with all the luxuries of this luxurious town, as a slave of the French Republic."

From this speech the ministry concluded that I meant to join their party, and I was treated by them with good dinners and great consideration, till I sent the following letter, in answer to one from Lord Hawkesbury, earnestly requesting my attendance in the House of Lords on the 30th of April: —

"My Lord, Grafton Street, April 28th, 1804.

"Though I have, on several occasions, and in various ways, endeavoured to promote the best interests of my country, yet I

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have ever declined becoming a party-man. Your Lordship, I hope, will forgive me if, when party unhappily runs so high, I cannot assist you farther than by not appearing in the House of Lords on Monday next.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Whilst I staid in town this year, I received a letter from Doctor Falconar of Bath, and I sent him the following answer: —

"Dear Sir,

"I HAVE always great pleasure in hearing either from or of Dr. Falconer, and though I have not of late years indulged myself in many correspondences, except on such as the duties of my station required, yet I cannot leave your letter, which I received yesterday, unnoticed.

"For the last fifty years I have not been an altogether incurious spectator of the events which have taken place in this and in other countries; but I can make no estimate of the moral merit or demerit of my countrymen, compared with their predecessors during the first half of the last century, for want of a *juxta*-position of the parties: they had their vices and their virtues, and we have ours, but, not being precisely of the same kind, their relative excellences and defects cannot be ascertained.

"Classical literature has given place to philosophical knowledge; and though we have a few men eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, yet the knowledge of these languages is neither general nor deep.

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" In the north of England there was, fifty years ago, a good grammar-school almost under every crag: the schools remain, but the spirit of trade has frightened away all the muses: Cocker's Arithmetic has taken precedence of Lily's Grammar.

" Notwithstanding the virulence with which revealed religion has been attacked on the Continent and in this kingdom, I am disposed to believe, that intellgent men begin to consider Christianity not merely as an useful political machine, but as a matter in the truth of which every one is individually concerned. This consideration will produce a degree of seriousness, and, perhaps, renovate a zealous spirit; but the good sense of the age will not suffer that spirit to degenerate into a spirit of intolerance and bigotry.

" The inordinate love, however, of wealth, of distinction, of personal indulgence, which prevails among all classes, and the abominable abandonment of public probity, when it comes in competition with private interest, which prevails among the higher ranks, suggest no reasonable expectation of Christianity soon becoming the *rule of life* to the generality of our countrymen; and the enormous taxation under which we labour will, I fear, extinguish all pure patriotism in the breasts of the middle class.

The death of a single prince in any part of Europe, remarkable either for wisdom or folly, renders political conjectures of future contingencies so extremely uncertain, that I seldom indulge myself in forming them; yet it seems to me probable, that Europe will soon be divided among three powers, France, Austria, and Russia; and in half a century between two, France and Russia; and that America will become the greatest naval power on the globe, and be replenished by migrations of oppressed and discontented people from every part of Europe.

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" I have ever acted in public concerns from my own conviction; perfectly indifferent to the ambitious struggles of political parties, except so far as they injured or assisted what I esteemed the public good; and I cannot but lament that at this moment the violence of party-spirit, excited by private views, is embarrassing the measures of Government. The dignified mode of proceeding, and a mode the present crisis required, would have been a concurrence of all men of talents to amend the blunders (if any), and to assist the weakness (if weakness exists), of the present administration; instead of this I see a mere interested contention for their places.

" My health is tolerable; but the original disorder, which seized me twenty-four years ago, is not removed, nor can I reasonably expect that it ever will be removed. I have left my retreat in Westmoreland for two months, to see if, at this time, I could be of any use to the country; but there is no probability of the voice of independence being listened to by any of the factions.

" My spirits have never failed me; for from an early age I have looked upon life as a blessing, but not as a blessing of such a magnitude as to generate, in a Christian, any great reluctance to the parting with it; because I have no expectation of a future state, except what is founded on the truth of Christianity: I say not in the truth of all the doctrines which men have deduced from the Gospels, but I fix upon the truth of the resurrection of Christ as that corner-stone on which I build all hope of my own; and that corner-stone is, I think, as surely posited as any fact in ancient history.

" I am, &c.

" R. Landaff."

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An act of Parliament, introduced by Lord Ellenborough, was passed in this session, making it illegal to ordain any person a deacon before he had obtained the full age of twenty-three years. I had no objection to this act, as fixing a definite time before which orders should not be conferred. Men, indeed, differ from each other so much in genius, ability, and disposition, that it may frequently happen that one man at the age of twenty may be as fit to become a deacon as another at the age of twenty-three; and it might thence be argued, that the time of taking orders ought to be left to the discretion of the bishop conferring them, rather than be fixed to any particular period. Father Paul was ordained a priest at twenty-two years of age; and Archbishop Usher was ordained both deacon and priest before the age prescribed by the canons; and other eminent men have met with similar indulgence: yet the leaving matters, which may be settled by law, to men's discretion, (how properly soever that discretion may in particular instances be exerted,) is in general a bad principle in legislation.

But though I did not object to the act on account of its fixing a time before which a man could not be legally ordained a deacon, I thought it was highly objectionable on another account.

Between thirty and forty years ago, I had been much engaged in the tuition of youth in the University of Cambridge; and frequently observed the great difficulty with which clergymen with small incomes, farmers, tradesmen, and others, in slender circumstances, sustained the expense of their sons' education; and I was sensible that it was from such sort of families that the church was

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principally supplied with parochial ministers. Since that time the expense of an University-education has been much increased, and this increase must of natural consequence reduce the numbers sent thither for the clerical profession, and render a supply of ministers from some other quarter necessary. To prevent this, many of the bishops have formed a resolution, not to ordain any one who has not taken a degree in one of our Universities. I cannot approve of this resolution for two reasons:—First, I think it illiberal in the bishops to refuse conferring orders because a man has not been educated at Cambridge or Oxford: their duty in that matter consists in examining whether a man has a sufficient portion of learning, rather than in asking where he acquired it; since Warburton, and many other eminent men, not being graduates, would on their principle have never have been introduced into the church. In the second place, it may be observed, that if all the bishops acted on this principle, many churches in several dioceses would be destitute of ministers.

Seeing the church in danger of becoming less respectable, as to its ministers, from the increase of the expense of an University-education, I thought it might be a relief to parents, and an inducement to them to send their sons to the University, if young men were permitted to go into deacon's orders at two, rather than at three-and-twenty years of age. I mentioned this to several of the bishops, and they all seemed to concur with me in opinion. A few days afterwards I went down to the House of Lords, and showed to Lord Ellenborough the following clause, which I wished might be introduced into his bill:—*That no person who had taken a degree in arts or in law, in any of the Universities of*

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Cambridge, Oxford, or Dublin, should be ordained a deacon before he had attained the full age of twenty-two years; and that no other literate person should be ordained a deacon before he was twenty-three years of age. I not only found Lord Ellenborough stiff in his own opinion, that his bill should not be altered; but that he had changed the sentiments of some of the bishops; so that, foreseeing the probable rejection of the clause, and dreading the indecorum of the bench being divided on such a point, I forbore making the motion I had intended.

I retained, however, my opinion, that every encouragement ought to be held out to parents to send their children, destined for the ministry, to the Universities; and that the distinction in favour of the Universities, which I proposed in the clause, is highly proper; for, with all their defects, our Universities are the best seminaries of education in Europe. We hear, indeed, in every company, much blame thrown on the Universities, on account of the increase of the expense of education in them; but the blame is not fairly imputable to them, since the expenses of tuition, rooms, commons, college-servants, &c., are much the same now that they were forty years ago. It is impossible for the Universities effectually to oppose the torrent of luxury and dissipation which, in spreading itself through all classes, has every where broken down the ancient fences of frugality and simplicity of manners, and which, unless it be checked, will indubitably bring on the ruin of the country. How applicable to ourselves (since our territorial acquisitions in India) is the observation of Livy, foreseeing and lamenting the fate of Rome, —

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"*Nuper divitiæ avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere!*"

I this year preached and published a sermon for the Society established for the *Suppression of Vice.* An hint given in that sermon, the same which I had given before in 1791, in a sermon preached for the Philanthropic Society, has been carried into execution, by the establishment, in 1805, of a new institution, called *The Refuge for the Destitute*, under the presidency of the Duke of York.

The Duke of Orleans and his two brothers had honoured me with a visit of a few days at my house in Westmoreland; and I was so much pleased with their conversation, and sympathised so sincerely with them in the misfortunes which had befallen their house, that I could not forbear sending the following letter to the Duke of Orleans on the murder of his relation the Duc D'Enghien:—

"Sir, Calgarth Park, July 20. 1804.

"I HAVE no wish to draw Your Highness into a correspondence with an obscure bishop, but I have a wish to testify to you the supreme satisfaction I have received from the perusal of the *Discours Funebre* pronounced at the obsequies of the Duc D'Enghien, and to join my regrets to those of the civilised world. It is a matchless piece of eloquence: the occasion makes the heart of the reader feel, with poignant sympathy, the expressions of the orator: I would not be possessed of that man's soul, who can read it without tears.

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" God, in his inscrutable providence, rules the world: Catholics and Protestants believe this; and if they are wise they will believe also that afflictions are designed for, and do in fact produce the melioration of mankind. A prince may lose a throne, but if the loss makes him submit with resignation to the Divine dispensation, he will gain something better than a throne, he will make God his friend.

" If ever this usurpation should be overthrown, and regal government be re-established in France, I please myself with the expectation that the noble conduct of England, shown in this day of calamity, will be everlastingly remembered; and that the two greatest and most enlightened nations in Europe will, by the union of their councils, preserve the peace of Christendom; and by their abhorrence of religious domination, extinguish the bigotry which has, for so many ages, disfigured the fair form of genuine Christianity.

" I met the Duc de Montpensier in London, and desired him to present to you my best respects; that I did not do it in person I beg you to attribute to my little knowledge of, and less regard for etiquette; and this defect you will have the goodness to excuse in an old man, who feels an activity on great, but none on ceremonious occasions, and to allow me the honour of assuring Your Highness of the sincerity with which I am

" Your faithful servant,

" R. Landaff."

The Duke of Orleans, if he ever reads this, will pardon my printing his answer to my letter: I am certain that it will do him honour wherever it is read; and I beg him to consider the publication of it as a posthumous token of my respect and good will.

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Letter from the Duke of Orleans, dated Twickenham, July 28th, 1804.

" My dear Lord,

" I am extremely obliged to Your Lordship for your kind letter. I regretted that I had not the pleasure of seeing you whilst you were in town. The moment I heard you were there I went to Great George-Street very early to be certain of finding you at home, but I was informed you had removed, and I could get no other direction but that it was somewhere in Albemarle-street or Conduit-street, they knew not which, and as to a number, that was not to be thought of. Still had I been a resident in town I had certainly found you out: but I have been very little in town last winter, and never had a house, or even apartments; I remained here in great retirement, of which I grow more fond every day of my life.

" I was certain Your Lordship's elevated soul had resented, with becoming indignation, the foul murder of my unfortunate cousin. His mother being my aunt, he was, next to my brothers, the nearest relation I had; and, as he was only a year older than me, we had been play-fellows during our younger years, you must feel it was a sad blow to me. His fate is an awful warning to every one of us, that the Corsican usurper will never rest until he has erased the whole of our family from the list of the living. It makes me feel still more forcibly than I did before (though it is scarcely possible) the blessing of the generous protection and support granted unto us by your magnanimous country. I have left my native country at so early a period, that I have not much of the habits of a Frenchman, and I may say with perfect candour

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that I am attached to England, not only by gratitude but by inclination and habit. It is in the sincerity of my heart that I say, May I never leave that hospitable land!

" But it is not only on account of my own feelings that I am so strongly interested in the welfare, prosperity, and successes of England, it is also as a man. The safety of Europe, that of the world, and the future happiness and independence of mankind, rests upon the preservation and independence of England, and this is the noble cause of Bonaparte's rage against you, and of that of his gang. May God defeat his wicked plans, and maintain this country in its present glorious and happy situation, is the true wish of my heart and of my most fervent prayer!

" Your Lordship must be equally well acquainted with my opinion respecting religious differences amongst Christians; and in other words, amongst men who profess the same religion. I believe every man must remain true to the principles in which he was brought up; but I equally believe it is not, in such times as these we live in, that such differences can be a real cause of difference among Christians. The question is not, whether one is a Christian of this or that sect, but whether he is a Christian or not?

" This, in my humble opinion, is the only question, at a time when the vital parts of religion and morality are attacked with such force; and where the melancholy experience of the latter years show, with what rapidity irreligion and immorality are spreading their baneful dominion over mankind.

" From the knowledge I have acquired of Your Lordship's great mind, I thought your opinion should be what I am very glad to find it is. I hope you will allow me to say, that I con-

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gratulate you upon sentiments so worthy at once of an English prelate, and a true Christian.

" Would you be so good as to remember me most kindly to Mrs. and the Miss Watsons, and believe me, with the highest and most sincere esteem and regard,

" My dear Lord, ever your affectionate

" L. P. P. Orleans."

" P. S. — I am particularly requested by both my brothers to present you their compliments, as well as to all your family. They went likewise in search of you in town; and all of us will ever retain, and myself most particularly, a most pleasant recollection of the short but agreeable days we spent at Calgarth."

The fall of the French monarchy, the imprisonments, confiscations, proscriptions, murders, butcheries, which attended its overthrow, and the despicable tyranny which has succeeded it, are important events for the consideration of princes and of their subjects. They instruct princes to use despotic power with moderation; and indeed to reflect, whether despotism is at all suited to the government of such an enlightened people as now inhabit Europe; they teach them also to beware of burdening their subjects with excessive taxation, in support of unnecessary wars, or of the luxury and prodigality of their courts. They instruct subjects, (I do not say to submit to the extreme oppression of their rulers,) but to bear with long and patient endurance small evils, lest in attempting to get rid of them, they should be overwhelmed by greater. Seasonable reforms may be accomplished without danger; but a resistance to reformation usually ends in a revolution.

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In October, 1804, a German treatise in Divinity, by Anastatius Freylinghansen, was published in English, with great parade, by order of Her Majesty, and supervised by the Bishop of London. The Duke of Grafton offered to forward it to me: I sent the following letter to His Grace:—

" My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth, 23d Oct. 1804.

" Though a letter from me passed, on the road, that which I have had the honour to receive from Your Grace, dated Oct. 9th, yet I think it right for me to trouble you with my acknowledgements for your kind offer of sending me the German Theology; and to say, that I will not trouble you to do it, for I have already seen it, and perused as much of it as I probably shall ever do; for at my time of life I have not my religion to learn from a Lutheran divine.

" Mr. Freylinghansen was, I question not, a learned and orthodox divine, but he appears to me to have been a very poor metaphysician. He staggered me in his first page, by speaking of our natural knowledge of God as being *implanted* in us, notwithstanding all that Mr. Locke had said upon the subject in the first book of his Essay on the Human Understanding; and he hobbles, in the second and several succeeding pages, in such a manner, as no one who had distinct notions of metaphysical reasoning, concerning the existence of God and his attributes, could, I think, have possibly done.

" All that kind of discussion has been more clearly and more deeply handled by Clarke, Locke, Whitby, Abernethy, Knight, &c. than by this German. The book is systematical, and on that account may be of use as an elementary book; but I have not

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the same notion of the utility of elementary books in theology which many persons entertain. Elementary books in geometry, algebra, &c., exhibit to us an indissoluble concatenation of intuitive or demonstrated truths; but elementary books in theology give us a concatenation, perhaps, but it is more frequently a concatenation of conjectures than of truths.

"Let any man fill his head with a persuasion, that he understands what is meant by the *Image of God*; that Adam had *Original Righteousness*; that he was a *Fœderal Head*, &c., and it will not be easy to enumerate the series of truths (conjectures they ought to be called, and absolute errors they may be) which will follow as legitimate corollaries, from such assumed principles.

"What are the catechisms of the Romish church, of the English church, of the Scotch church, and of all other churches, but a set of propositions which men of different natural capacities, educations, prejudices, have fabricated (sometimes on the anvil of sincerity, oftener on that of ignorance, interest, or hypocrisy,) from the divine materials furnished by the Bible? And can any man of an enlarged charity believe, that his salvation will ultimately depend on a concurrence in opinion with any of these niceties, which the several sects of Christians have assumed as essentially necessary for a Christian man's belief? Oh, no! Christianity is not a speculative business. One good act performed from a principle of obedience to the declared will of God, will be of more service to every individual, than all the speculative theology of St. Augustin, or Anastatius Freylinghansen.

"I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of this book, though it contains many positions which I do not approve, esteeming them unfounded in Scripture; yet it is possible enough that I,

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and not the author of it, may be in an error. Your Grace may have more patience in perusing it than I have had. It is very dogmatical; and refers to texts of Scripture which, abstracted from their context, often prove nothing. All the subjects it treats of have been handled with great precision by Curcellæus, Turretin, Episcopius, Limborch, and a great many other foreign divines; and very distinctly, though not systematically, by our own. This want of system in our writers may have given this German book a great estimation in the judgment of Her Majesty, in preference to those of our own country, which it cannot be expected she should be much acquainted with. But enough of this matter.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

My old friend, Mr. Tyrwhitt, of Jesus College, Cambridge, sent (for my perusal) a Sermon which he had preached in St. Mary's Church, and which he afterwards published, designed to prove that the baptismal form (Matt. xxviii. 19.) contained no doctrine in support of the Trinity. I returned the subjoined answer:—

"Calgarth Park, Aug. 29. 1804.

"I RETURN you, my dear Sir, your most valuable manuscript, with my best thanks for your having allowed me the perusal of it. No person can be offended by the manner in which you have handled an important passage of Scripture, and the minds of many will be enlightened by your argumentation. Vitringa has a learned Dissertation on what was understood by the Jews, by the phrase of being baptized in the name of any one. The true

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meaning of that phrase in the baptismal form must, I think, be determined by the import it had in the ears of our Lord's auditors, yet I am not satisfied with Vitringa's observations.

" I am disposed to accede to your remark, that whatever doctrine is not contained in the form prescribed by Christ for receiving disciples by baptism into his church, cannot be necessary to be believed by Christians; and you have excited a reasonable doubt, whether the doctrine of the Trinity be positively contained in the baptismal form. Yet I must own, that it sticks with me, that as the *Father* and the *Son* are *persons*, how the *Holy Ghost* can be otherwise conceived than as a *person*, in that form.

" Were I at Cambridge, I should be happy to discuss this, and some other points of your judicious discourse, in charming conference with yourself. I am certain, that whether we agreed or not in opinion on every point, we should agree in thinking, that free discussion was the best mean of investigating truth.

" I rejoice in your quotation from Locke. That great man has done more for the enlargement of the human faculties, and for the establishment of pure Christianity, than any author I am acquainted with. Accept the thanks and best wishes of

" Your's sincerely,

" R. LANDAFF."

Having heard that a controversy was carrying on between the Bishop of Oxford and Mr. Marsh, of St. John's College, Cambridge, I desired a friend to send me their several publications, and wrote to him the following letter: —

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" Dear Sir, Calgarth Park, Oct. 17. 1804.

" I RECEIVED from Cadell, the day before yesterday, the pamphlets which I had desired you to order for me, and I send you my thanks for the trouble you have had. I had read some of them when they were first published, and have now perused them all with attention, and am thankful to both the gentlemen for the information they have afforded me, without presuming to give any opinion on the point in dispute between them, or on the relative accuracy of their logic in argumentation.

" I rejoice that Cambridge can boast of having so great a Biblical scholar, and so liberal a divine, as Mr. Marsh has long shown himself to be, and have no doubt of the high estimation in which he will be held by that enlightened body.

" I sincerely hope that the publishing his Hypothesis will be in *no place* an impediment to him in the way of his preferment, but I am not ignorant that all men will not see this hypothesis in the same light in which it appears to me. I consider it as an attempt to remove from the Gospels many difficulties. Those who shall consider it as founded in fact (though the fact cannot now be proved by testimony) will be thankful for it: those who shall consider it as having no foundation in fact, will not be injured by it, since it leaves them as they were.

" In the first rule of philosophising, laid down by Newton, it is said, — More causes of natural things are not to be admitted than are both true and sufficient for explaining their phænomena. The Vortices of Des Cartes may, in the opinion of many, be sufficient for explaining the planetary motions, and the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz may be sufficient for explaining the phæ-

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nomena of what are called voluntary motions; but these causes not being true, having no existence except in the imaginations of their authors, are not to be admitted as the true causes of the planetary and voluntary motions, though sufficient for explaining their phænomena. If this rule of philosophising can be applied to the case in point (which, perhaps, it cannot) does it not show, that a sufficiency to explain the phænomena of the verbal harmony in the Gospels does not absolutely prove the hypothesis, or rather does not prove the fact of there ever having been the public document in question.

"On the other hand it may be said, Dr. Long, in speaking of the correspondence between the appearances of the heavenly bodies and the position of them assumed by Copernicus, expresses himself in the following terms:—"This exact correspondence of the *phænomena* with the *hypothesis*, is alone so strong an argument in favour of the truth of it, that we might very well acquiesce in it." If this reasoning may be allowed to Dr. Long, why may it not be allowed to Mr. Marsh? His hypothesis has an exact correspondence with certain phænomena of verbal harmony discovered by him in the Gospels; is not this correspondence alone so strong an argument in favour of the truth of the hypothesis that we may well acquiesce in it?

"I make not these remarks with any intention of entering into the discussion of the question, but merely to show you that I respect Mr. Marsh's publications too highly to give them only a slight consideration.

"I wish the controversy to rest where it does, though I applaud Mr. Marsh's courage in professing his readiness to continue

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the combat, and am persuaded that, if he is obliged to strike a last blow, it will be a clincher.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

When we want to open a lock, and after having tried, to no purpose, a number of keys, we hit upon one which opens it with facility, we conclude that we have met with the right key. In like manner when any phænomenon in nature is to be explained, such, for instance, as the aberration of the fixed stars, and we find that the hypothesis of the progressive motion of light, combined with that of the annual motion of the earth in its orbit, will completely solve that wonderful appearance, we rightly conclude that light is progressive; or when we find that the colours, figure, position, and all the other appearances of the primary and secondary rainbows, can be solved from the different refrangibility of the rays of light passing through globular drops of rain, we rightly conclude that the rays of light are differently refrangible and the drops of rain globular, why may we not argue in the same manner on other subjects? The verbal harmonies observable in the Gospels may be solved, by admitting that the four Evangelists transcribed some parts of the Gospels from a common document; may not the solution of the phænomena, as Mr. Marsh calls them, of the verbal harmonies, by the hypothesis of such a document, be admitted as a proof that such a document did once exist?

In January, 1805, the Duke of Grafton informed me by letter, that it was not expected the Archbishop of Canterbury could live

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many weeks. I had no expectation of an archbishopric, for the Duke of Clarence had once said to me, (speaking in conversation, no doubt, the language of the court,) "They will never make *you* an archbishop: they are afraid of you."

I had no expectation, indeed, of any thing being offered me, for I knew that I possessed none of the principles essential to the success of candidates for promotion ecclesiastical or civil. Partisans in parliament, Tories in government, bigots in religion, these are the men who thrive in all corrupted states, and by thriving accelerate the ruin of free constitutions. I wrote, on the occasion, to the Duke of Grafton, the annexed letter.

"My dear Lord Duke, "Calgarth, Jan. 5. 1805.

"I AM much obliged to Your Grace for your intelligence relative to the state of the Archbishop's health: it is of a piece with your uniform kindness to me and attention to my interest. Whenever the event takes place, some suitable opening may, probably, be made for my application, but I am determined to make no application. I have been insulted by the neglect of ministers, and perhaps misrepresented by them to His Majesty, but I will not disgrace myself by the servility of repeating my wishes, or re-urging my pretensions; though I should think it a duty I owe to the University not to refuse any offer by which I should not be a loser in resigning my professorship.

"If I know myself my mind has, through life, been free from avarice and ambition; except the avarice of making a moderate provision for a large family; except the ambition of being well esteemed by the wise and virtuous part of mankind.

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"The prospect of acquiring wealth and distinction is a proper incentive to virtuous exertion; and when these are bestowed as rewards of personal desert, he must be more insensible than a Stoic who does not rejoice in the possession of them; but when they cannot be procured except by intrigue, adulation, loss of character, and prostitution of principle, to me they become not only worthless, but abominable objects of pursuit.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

My daughter Elizabeth wrote to me in March, 1805, at the request of Miss Dutton, who wished to consult me on a point of some delicacy. The Russian Prince, Bariatinski, was paying his addresses to her: she had some scruples, and her mother, Lady Sherborne, had more, respecting the propriety of her entering into a matrimonial connection with a person of the Greek church. I had no knowledge of either Miss Dutton or of her parents; but being thus called upon, I sent the following letter to my daughter to be communicated to the young lady.

"My dear Elizabeth, Calgarth Park, March 27. 1805.

"IN answering Miss Dutton's enquiry, I shall certainly do it with sincerity, but my opinions on any subject though sincere are not infallible: I must act in conformity to them myself, but I am far from wishing any person to rely on them.

"The Christian religion is wholly comprised in the New Testament, but men have interpreted that book in various ways, and hence have sprung up a great variety of Christian churches. I scruple not giving the name of Christian churches to assemblies

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of men uniting together for public worship, though they may differ somewhat from each other in doctrine and in discipline, whilst they all agree in the fundamental principle of the Christian religion — that Jesus is the Christ, the Saviour of the world.

" In this the Greek, the Latin, and all the reformed churches have one and the same faith. They all believe, too, that Christ rose from the dead — that there will be a resurrection of all men — that there will be a future state, in which all men will be rewarded or punished according to their works done in this. These are some of the chief points in which all churches agree: they disagree in matters of less importance; and each church esteeming itself the true church, is apt to impute not merely error, but crime to every other. This imputation I think extremely wrong — it is judging another man's servant — it is assuming dominion over another man's faith — it is having too high an opinion of our own wisdom — it is presuming that we are rendering God service, when it may be that we are merely supporting our own prejudices, flattering our own self-sufficiency, and paying homage to intellectual pride.

" I do not indeed agree with those who esteem it a matter of indifference what religion a man adopts provided his life be good; yet I must think that this indifference is less exceptionable than that want of charity for those who dissent from our particular faith, which too frequently occupies the minds of well-meaning zealots in every church.

" The doctrines of every church are best known from its public creed, because that is supposed to be a compendium of articles of faith adapted to general use.

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"The Russian Greek church does not use in its public service what is commonly called the *Apostles' Creed;* nor what is improperly called the *Athanasian Creed;* but simply that which we use in our communion service, which is usually denominated the *Nicene Creed;* though it is not, in every point, precisely that which was composed at the Council of Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 325. I do not presume to blame the Russian church for the exclusive use of the Nicene Creed in its public service, especially as it does not prohibit the private use of the other two. Nor do I blame it for differing from the Romish church in one article of this creed, respecting the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father alone; though all the reformed churches agree with the church of Rome in maintaining the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, notwithstanding its being well known that the words — *And the Son,* were only added by a pope in the tenth century, without the authority of a council. The doctrine may be true, but not being a part of what was established at the Council of Nice, it is not admitted by the Greek church.

"The Russian church differs from the Romish church, in not acknowledging a purgatory; in not denying the sacramental cup to the laity; in allowing their priests to marry; in explaining transubstantiation in a mystical manner; in not invocating saints and the Virgin Mary as mediators; acknowledging Jesus Christ as the only Mediator; and in many other points. In those, and in other particulars, the Greek church seems to have a leaning to the principles of Protestantism rather than of Popery.

"On no occasion ought we to act in opposition to our conscience, but it does not follow, that in obeying the dictates of

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conscience we always act rightly; for there is such a thing as an erroneous conscience, and we may not be able to detect the error. I knew a gentleman who had been brought up at Eton and at Cambridge, who from being a Protestant became a Roman Catholic. This gentleman examined the foundation of both religions, and finally settled on that of the church of Rome. He acted properly in following the impulse of his judgment. I think he formed an erroneous judgment, but that is only my opinion, in opposition to his opinion; and even admitting my opinion to be right, it would be uncharitable in me to condemn him, for God only knows whether, with his talents and constitutional turn of mind, he could have escaped the error into which he had fallen. With a similar degree of moderation, therefore, I think of the different sects of Christians. Every sect believes itself to be right, but it does not become any of them to say, — I am more righteous than my neighbour, or to think that the gates of Heaven are shut against all others.

"Miss Dutton, I think, will easily collect, from what I have written, my opinion; that if, in every other respect, the match meets with her approbation and that of her parents, it need not be declined from any apprehension of the children's salvation being risked by being educated in the Greek church; especially as, when they arrive at mature age, they will be at liberty to examine and judge for themselves which, of all the Christian churches, is most suitable to the Gospel of Christ.

"I received your letter only yesterday evening, but as you wished for a speedy answer, I have hastened to oblige you,

"And am ever,

"Your most affectionate father,

"R. LANDAFF."

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Miss Dutton was soon after married to Prince Bariatinski, and they enjoyed much happiness together, till the Princess died in childbed at Altona, in March, 1807.

In May, 1805, the Petition of the Roman Catholics in Ireland was taken into consideration by both Houses of Parliament, and rejected by great majorities in them both. Being a sincere friend to the general principle of the petition, I sent, six weeks before its introduction into parliament, the following letter to the then Minister, Mr. Pitt: —

" My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, 1st April, 1805.

" I APPROVE of the purport of the Catholic Petition, and think that there would be both *justice* and *expediency* in granting it, but I do not approve of its being presented and pressed at this time.

" I respect the conscience of the King, and lament that in his state of health any thing should disturb his mind. My humanity will not permit me to support a measure, not necessarily called for, which may, probably, bring on him the greatest affliction to which human nature can be exposed.

" When I say, that I respect the conscience of the King, I do not mean to say that I think it is rightly formed; but I applaud his integrity in adhering to it whilst he believes that it is so. I think that it is not rightly formed, because I see no danger occurring to the church of England from Catholic emancipation, either in Great Britain or Ireland.

" As to His Majesty's scruple respecting his Coronation Oath, (though it does him great honour to attend to it,) in my opinion

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it is not well founded. The Coronation Oath is the confirmation of a promise made by the King to his people: the obligation of the promise ceases, and the oath is relaxed, when the people by the two Houses of Parliament declare, that they do not, in a certain point, require the performance of it.

"If it is the intention of Government absolutely to *reject* the principle of the petition I will give no proxy; but if it is their intention to defer the consideration of it only till His Majesty's health be better established, or his conscientious scruples removed, I am ready to give you my little support.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

About the same time I sent the subjoined letter to the Duke of Grafton, in answer to one of his, expressing a wish to know my sentiments on the Catholic Question: —

"My dear Lord Duke,

"The Catholic Question is a subject on which I formerly bestowed some attention, but foreseeing that I might not have an opportunity of publicly delivering an opinion, I was not anxious to make up my mind upon it. I have however resumed the consideration of it, and the result of my most serious thoughts is, — that the purport of the petition ought to be granted, but that it ought not at this time to be pressed upon the King.

"I am perfectly sensible that the suspicion of the King's dislike of a measure is no constitutional reason why it ought not to be submitted to the judgment of parliament; but the state of the King's health is, to me at least it is, a reason why no measure,

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not immediately necessary for the salvation of the country, should be introduced, which may probably bring on an old man the greatest calamity which can befall human kind. If I were in town I would not vote against the petition, but I certainly would vote to put off the consideration of it.

" It is certainly not unsuitable either to your age or rank to take a part in the debate, if you find your spirits equal to the task, and I will put down, *according to your desire*, though I think it quite unnecessary to do it, a few heads on which you may properly enlarge.

" 1. The absolute justice of tolerating religious opinions, since no civil government can justly possess more power over its subjects than what individuals have *consented* to transfer to it when they entered into society; and no individual can give up the right of worshipping God according to his conscience, and therefore no government can justly abridge that right.

" 2. No civil government has any right to take cognisance of opinions either political or religious, but merely of men's actions. This principle, however, is liable to exception with respect to the public teachers of religion; and the Belgic princes in 1730 availed themselves of this distinction, when they decreed, that no Catholic priest should enter on his office till he had abjured the opinion of the Pope's right of absolving subjects from their allegiance to the magistrate, and promised that he would teach a contrary opinion to the people.

" 3. The established religion of every country ought to be the religion of the majority of the people; unless an exception be admitted, when the minority of the inhabitants possesses a majority of the property by which the establishment is main-

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tained; and even in that case, humanity and policy, if not strict justice, require a co-establishment of the religion of the minority.

" 4. Great credit ought to be given to men of probity and talents, disclaiming, in express terms, the most obnoxious principles of the church of Rome: the odium of past transactions ought not to be thrown upon those who had no concern in them.

" 5. Constitutionally speaking, the Catholic Peers and Commoners have no more right to sit in parliament than a Catholic king has to sit upon the throne; and if the change of times is not yet such that a Protestant would endure the thought of a Catholic king upon the throne, it may be enquired, upon what principle it is that a Protestant can endure the thought of a Catholic legislator. The principle may be the little comparative influence of a Catholic legislation, and his abjuration of temporal tenets formerly professed by Catholics.

" 6. The progress of science has subdued the bigotry formerly too apparent not only in the church of Rome, but in all the reformed churches; and it will never be able, till a state of ignorance and barbarism recurs, to rear up its head again. There is no probability of intolerance and superstition ever more pervading Europe; and the Catholic religion will daily continue to derive light from the labour of learning. The learned Catholics are beginning every where to soften the asperities of their religious tenets, and to apologise for what they cannot excuse. The Irish gentry partake of the general illumination of the age; and the peasantry will imitate the example of their superiors.

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" 7. It may be said that the *church* of Rome has not formally renounced any of the doctrines maintained at the Council of Trent, and that the *court* of Rome has not abandoned any of its pretensions to temporal dominion; yet Catholic, as well as Protestant states, have every where spurned these pretensions; and something very like a formal renunciation of one of the most dangerous tenets of that Church took place in Russia more than twenty years ago. The Empress Catharine gave permission to the Roman Catholics in her dominions openly to exercise their religion, and to have bishops of their own persuasion for the government of their Church. She was present at the consecration of the first Catholic Archbishop. When the ceremony had proceeded to the administration of the oath usually taken by the Bishops of that Church, the Archbishop (that was to be) refused to repeat the clause, — *Hæreticos schismaticos et rebelles Domino nostro Papæ pro posse persequar et impugnabo.*

" On this refusal, the ceremony was ended, fresh instructions were required from Rome, and the then Pope ordered the clause to be omitted; and it has since been omitted, by the authority of the Pope, in the oath taken by the Irish bishops.

" I will not trouble Your Grace with further remarks: the subject is infinite; and I dare say you will have speeches of some hours in length. My great objection to the church of Rome is its uncharitable principle of the insalvability of persons out of its pale; for this principle produces a persecuting principle, and I must ever detest every species of persecution. I cannot however believe, that Catholic emancipation will tend to the increase of the number of Catholics, either in Ireland or England; on

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the contrary, I think the number would, by such a measure, be lessened.

" Nothing unites men so much as any degree of persecution. Individuals, otherwise of no consequence, either from talents or fortune, become conspicuous, and acquire a degree of weight when connected with a party. Men claim merit from what they call their sufferings, who would have no ground for claiming it on any other species of desert.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Notwithstanding the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, and notwithstanding there was not a single bishop who voted for the Petition, I was willing that my opinion on the question should be publicly known; and on visiting my diocese, in June, 1805, I took a comprehensive view of the subject in a long Charge, which was published in 1808, on a second rejection of the Petition by both Houses of Parliament, with the following Advertisement prefixed to it: —

" ADVERTISEMENT.

" A numerous and respectable part of the clergy of my diocese requested me, at the time it was delivered, to publish the Charge which is now submitted to the world. I excused myself from complying with their request, because I considered the Catholic question to have been then settled, at least for a time; and I was unwilling to revive the discussion of a subject, on which I had the misfortune to differ in opinion from a majority in each House of Parliament. I have still had that misfortune;

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but, looking upon the situation of the empire to be abundantly more hazardous now than it was three years ago, I have thought it a duty to declare publicly my approbation of a measure, calculated, I sincerely believe, above all other measures, to support the independence of the country, to secure the stability of the throne, to promote peace among fellow-subjects, and charity among fellow-Christians, and in no probable degree dangerous to the constitution, either in church or state.

"R. L."

"Calgarth Park, 1st June, 1808.

Mr. Davies, curate of Olveston in Gloucestershire, had published, in 1804, a learned work, entitled "*Celtic Researches*:" I had no personal knowledge of him, but on the 27th of April, 1805, I sent him the following letter:—

"Reverend Sir,

"The living of Bishopston, near Swansea, in the diocese of St. David's, but in my patronage, is now vacant: I am told that it is worth from 120*l.* to 140*l.* a-year. I think it my duty to fix there a resident clergyman; and if, under that condition, it be worth the acceptance of the author of the Celtic Researches, I shall be happy in thinking that my poor patronage has enabled me to show the sense I entertain of his merits.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

On the marriage of my son, in August, 1805, I wrote to the Duke of York, requesting His Royal Highness to give him his

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protection. I felt a consciousness of having, through life, cherished a warm attachment to the house of Brunswick, and to those principles which had placed it on the throne, and of having on all occasions acted an independent and honourable part towards the government of the country, and I therefore thought myself justified in concluding my letter in the following terms: — "I know not in what estimation Your Royal Highness may hold my repeated endeavours, in moments of danger, to support the religion and the constitution of the country; but if I am fortunate enough to have any merit with you on that score, I earnestly request your protection for my son. I am a bad courtier, and know little of the manner of soliciting favours through the intervention of others, but I feel that I shall never know how to forget them, when done to myself; and, under that consciousness, I beg leave to subscribe myself

"Your Royal Highness's most grateful servant,

"R. Landaff."

I received a very obliging answer by the return of the post, and in about two months my son was promoted, without purchase, from a Majority, to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the Third Dragoon Guards.

After having experienced, for above twenty-four years, the neglect of His Majesty's ministers, I received great satisfaction from this attention of his son, and shall carry with me to my grave a most grateful memory of his goodness. I could not at the time forbear expressing my acknowledgement in the following letter, nor can I now forbear inserting it in these anecdotes. The

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whole transaction will do His Royal Highness no discredit with posterity, and I shall ever consider it as an honourable testimony of his approbation of my public conduct.

" Calgarth Park, Nov. 9. 1805.

——— " Do My Lord of Canterbury
But one good turn, and he's your friend for ever."

" Thus Shakspeare makes Henry VIII. speak of Cranmer; and, from the bottom of my heart, I humbly intreat Your Royal Highness to believe, that the sentiment is as applicable to the Bishop of Landaff as it was to Cranmer.

" The *bis dat qui cito dat* has been most kindly thought of in this promotion of my son; and I know not which is most dear to my feelings, the matter of the obligation, or the noble manner of its being conferred. I sincerely hope Your Royal Highness will pardon this my intrusion, in thus expressing my most grateful acknowledgements for them both.

" R. Landaff."

Letter to Lord Euston, in Answer to one of his, consulting me on the Education of his Son, Lord Ipswich, on his leaving Harrow, and going to Dr. Maltby.

" My dear Lord,

" Having taken sufficient time to consider your letter with my best attention, I now sit down to answer it. I begin with congratulating yourself on the proper sense you entertain of your own duty respecting the education of your son. The virtuous education of our offspring, and especially of an offspring which

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by its rank may influence the morals of a country, is one of the most important duties of life. The happiness or misery, not merely of an individual but of the world, depend upon the good or bad morals of its inhabitants; and the morals of men chiefly depend on the principles of action which are impressed on the minds of children. If your son should in future turn out ill, you will have the comfort of knowing that you have not to reproach yourself with having neglected his education; if well, you may justly attribute some merit to your own foresight, and assiduity in the conduct of his education.

" By writing thus seriously you will perceive, that I look upon religious instruction as the surest basis of future respectability of character; and I am happy in knowing that Lady Euston, to whose care your young man must, as to that point, have been hitherto principally confided, is both from disposition and ability fully adequate to the trust. By religious instruction, I do not mean that he should at his time of life, or indeed at any time of life, be occupied in theological controversy, or perplexed in estimating the worth of the several systems of faith with which the Christian world has unhappily been every where oppressed; but that he should be habituated to consider the Gospels as containing a *rule of life*, which no propensities of sense, no fashion of the world, no licentious conversation of infidel companions, should ever induce him to disparage or neglect. It is a state which, if believed with sincerity and followed with firmness, will lead him and us all in every situation, and in every vicissitude of fortune, to tranquillity of mind in this first scene of our existence, and to the perfection of our being in all succeeding scenes. I do not mean to preach to you; but I am so convinced of the truth and importance

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of what I have written, that I could not forbear touching on the subject.

" You very properly wish your young man to write and to speak good English. The best means of acquiring that qualification is to converse with the best company, to read the best written books, and to translate some of the fine passages of the ancients. But as all this cannot be expected from a youth of his age, I will mention only two books, with which if he becomes familiar, his language will insensibly become elegant and strong. " Middleton's Life of Cicero," and " Plutarch's Lives," by Langhorne. The language of both is good, and of the first excellent. I mention these books, not in preference to Addison, Swift, &c. on account of language, but because the perusal of them will carry on his classical education; and inspire him with the noble sentiments of some of the greatest men the world has ever seen. There is another book most admirably fitted to form the taste of a young man in classical literature, to instruct him in a great variety of useful knowledge, to imbue his mind with proper principles, and to give him a turn for such studies and acquirements, as are peculiarly ornamental to every gentleman, and not unworthy the attention of a man of rank,—Rollin's "Belles Lettres." I am strengthened in my good opinion of this work, by knowing how greatly it was esteemed by Bishop Atterbury, one of the politest scholars of his age. It may be proper to read this book in the translation, (the third edition of which was published in 1742,) rather than in the original French, because the English is not deficient in correctness and perspicuity. As to translating in order to form a copious and nervous style, nothing can be more proper: the practice is recommended by Cicero

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and Quintilian, and I dare say is not unknown to your son. The Etonian Greek and Latin Selecta have been probably put into his hands at Harrow for that purpose. It will be of use to him to compare his own performances in that way with those of approved translations, and Pliny's Letters, translated by Melmoth, is a book well fitted for that end; especially as the perusal of the Letters themselves will afford him pleasure and instruction of various kinds: the 97th Letter of the tenth book is a noble proof of the good morals of the Christians in the first age.

" It would be easy for me to point out other books, as instruments of an education suited to your future views for your son, and to his future situation in this country, as a public man; and at a proper time I shall be happy to do it; but we had better wait till his capacity is ascertained and the particular bent of his mind is better developed than it can be at present. But it will not be an easy matter for you to persuade him to use such diligence and application, as will enable him to derive the proper benefit from the plan which may be chalked out for him. I, at least, have found it difficult to stimulate either of my sons to great literary exertions; one of them makes a good soldier; and the other may make a good clergyman; but both of them might have been eminent in learning.

" Nothing great can be done in classics, in science, in politics, in any thing without incessant industry, and our manners are against the use of it. Boys too soon cease to be boys, and for that reason they continue boys in intellect all their days. This, as Johnson would have called it, precocity of manners we have imported with other mischiefs from France. I look upon Euclid

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as the best possible logic, and I shall think two months of your young man's time excellently spent in being able to demonstrate, at sight of the scheme, every proposition in the first book; and if he never went further in mathematics, he would have acquired the habit of clear reasoning and attentive reading. If Dr. Maltby can do this for him, not in a superficial but in a true fundamental manner, he will render him a great service; for in mathematics, and in every other literary pursuit, a little knowledge perfectly attained is preferable to a superficial knowledge of a great deal. When he gets to Cambridge, I think it will be useful to him in addition to his college lectures, to attend the public courses of Botany, Anatomy, Chemistry, &c., not with a view of making him deeply versed in these matters, but to open his mind by general knowledge, and to keep him from falling into idleness and dissipation.

It is very right to make your son an allowance: it will gratify him with a notion of independence: it will teach him the use of money; and it will tighten the bonds of confidence and affection, which ought always to subsist between a father and a son. I must caution you, however, to let your allowance be short of what you can afford to give him, that you may not be vexed or distressed by his exceeding it; for most young men, from inexperience or indiscretion incident to their age, are apt to outrun their income, be it ever so large. An occasional present of an hundred pounds, though it may not exceed what you intended for him, will excite his gratitude and regard infinitely more than if it came as part of his allowance.

" I must have sufficiently tired you without exhausting the subject, but I will relieve you for the present, begging you to

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have no scruple in writing to me on any subject, in which you think that I can be of service to you or yours. Adieu, my dear Lord, and be assured of the sincerity of the friendship with which

" I am ever yours,

" R. LANDAFF."

" P. S.—I am sorry to hear of Mr. Pitt's danger; I always had a regard for him, and cannot without regret think of losing an old acquaintance."

Mr. Pitt was actually dead at the date of the above letter. His conduct to me had been uniformly unkind, I might justly say ungrateful, but I never bore him any ill will on that account; for I thought it was very probable I had been slandered by persons about him, and I knew that his talents and disinterestedness merited my esteem, and that of every impartial man. Doctor Price said of Lord North that " he doubled a national debt " before too heavy to be endured; and let future generations rise " up, and if possible call him—BLESSED!"—What would he have said had he lived to see the state of the debt at the death of Mr. Pitt? Lord North's American war rendered it difficult for a man of five hundred pounds a-year to support the station of a gentleman, and Mr. Pitt's French war has rendered it impossible. In March, 1806, the following advertisement appeared in the newspapers.

" Pembroke Lodge.

" The Reverend Charles Buchanan, Vice-president of the College of Fort William, in Bengal, having proposed a prize of

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500*l.* to all graduates, who on the first day of March, 1807, shall be Bachelors of Law or Physic, Inceptors, or Masters of Arts, or persons of superior degrees in the University of Cambridge, for the best work in English Prose, embracing the following subjects:

" 1. The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominions.

" 2. The duty, the means, and the consequences of translating the Scriptures into the Oriental tongues, and of promoting Christian knowledge in Asia.

" 3. A Brief Historic View of the Progress of the Gospel in different Nations since its first Publication, illustrated by maps, shewing its luminous tract throughout the world, with chronological notice of its duration in particular places, the regions of Mahomedanism to be marked with red, and those of Paganism with a dark colour. — The candidates are requested to send their compositions to the Vice-chancellor under a sealed cover, on or before the first day of March, 1807, and to distinguish them by any motto they please, sending at the same time their names sealed up, under another cover, with the same motto inscribed upon it."

Mr. Buchanan had sent me in 1805 his interesting memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India; and on reading the above advertisement I transmitted to him the following letter: —

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" Reverend Sir, Calgarth Park, 15th May, 1806.

" Some weeks ago, I received *from the author* your memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, for which obliging attention I now return you my best thanks. I hesitated for some time, whether I ought to interrupt your speculations with my acknowledgements for so valuable a present, but on being informed of the noble premium by which you propose to exercise the talents of graduates in the University of Cambridge, I determined to express to you my admiration of your disinterestedness and zeal in the cause of Christianity.

" Twenty years and more have now elapsed, since in my sermon before the House of Lords, I hinted to the then government the propriety of paying regard to the propagation of Christianity in India; and I have since then, as fit occasions offered, privately but unsuccessfully pressed the matter on the consideration of those in power. If my voice or opinion can in future be of any weight with the King's ministers, I shall be most ready to exert myself in forwarding any prudent measure for promoting a liberal Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India. It is not without consideration that I say a *liberal* Establishment, because I heartily wish that every Christian should be at liberty to worship God according to his conscience, and be assisted therein by a teacher of his own persuasion, at the public expense.

" The subjects which you have proposed for the work which shall obtain your prize are all of them judiciously chosen, and, if properly treated, (as my love for my *Alma Mater* persuades me they will be,) may probably turn the thoughts of the legislature towards the measure you recommend. The *Salutaris Lux Evangelii* by Fabricius, published at Hamburgh in 1781, will be of

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great use to the candidates for your prize, and his *India Geographicus Episcopatuum, Orbis Christiani*, subjoined to that work, might, if accompanied with proper notes, afford a very satisfactory elucidation to your third head.

" God in his providence hath so ordered things, that America, which three hundred years ago was wholly peopled by Pagans, has now many millions of Christians in it; and will not probably, three hundred years hence, have a single Pagan in it; but be inhabited by more Christians, and by more enlightened Christians, than now exist in Europe.

" Africa is not worse fitted for the reception of Christianity, than America was when it was first visited by Europeans, and Asia is much better fitted for it, inasmuch as Asia enjoys a considerable degree of civilisation, and some degree of it is necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity. The commerce and the colonisation of Christian states have civilised America, and they will in time civilise and christianise the whole earth.

" Whether it be a Christian duty to attempt, by *lenient* methods, to propagate the Christian religion among Pagans and Mahometans can be doubted I think by few; but whether any attempt will be attended with much success till Christianity is purified from its corruptions, and the lives of Christians are rendered correspondent to their Christian profession, may be doubted by many; but there certainly never was a more promising opportunity for trying the experiment of subverting paganism in British India, than what has for some years been offered to the government of Great Britain.

" The morality of our holy religion is so salutary to civil

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society; its promise of a future state so consolatory to individuals; its precepts are so suited to the deductions of the most enlightened reason, that it must finally prevail throughout the world. Some have thought that Christianity is losing ground in Christendom; I am of a different opinion. Some ascetitious doctrines of Christianity derived from Rome and Geneva are losing ground; some unchristian practices springing from bigotry, intolerance, self-sufficiency of opinion, and uncharitableness of judgment are losing ground; but a belief in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, as the author of eternal life to all who obey his Gospel, is more and more confirmed every day in the minds of men of eminence and condition, not only in this but in every other Christian country. From this praise, I am not disposed to exclude even France itself, notwithstanding the temporary apostacy of its philosophers from every degree of religious faith. I cannot but hope well of that country, when I see its National Institute proposing for public discussion the following subject: — "What has been the influence of the Reformation "of Luther on the political situation of the different states of "Europe, and on the progress of knowledge?" especially when I see the subject treated by Mr. Villers, in a manner which would have conferred honour on the most liberal Protestant in the freest state in Europe. It cannot be denied that the morals of Christians in general fall far short of the standard of Christian perfection, and that they have always done so, scarcely excepting the latter half of the first century; but notwithstanding this concession, it is a certain fact that the Christian religion has ever operated to the production of piety, benevolence, self-government, and a love of virtue amongst individuals in every place

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where it has been established; and it will every where operate more powerfully as it is received with a more firm assurance of its truth; as it is better understood: for when it is properly understood it will be freed from the pollutions of superstition and fanaticism amongst the hearers, and from ambition, domination, and secularity amongst the teachers.

"Your publication has given us in England a great insight into the state of Christianity in India, as well as into the general state of learning amongst you; and it has excited in me the warmest wishes for the *prosperity of the college of Fort William. It is an institution which would have done honour to the wisdom of Solon and Lycurgus. I have no personal knowledge of the Marquis Wellesley, but I shall think of him and his coadjutors in this undertaking with the highest respect and admiration as long as I live.*

"I cannot enter into any particulars relative to an ecclesiastical establishment in India; nor would it perhaps be proper to press Government to take the matter into their consideration till this country is freed from the danger which threatens it; but I have that opinion of His Majesty's present ministers that they will not only from policy, but from a serious sense of religious duty, be disposed to treat the subject, whenever it comes before them, with great judgment and liberality. May God direct their counsels!

"Our empire in India, said Mr. Hastings, has been acquired by the sword, and must be maintained by the sword. I cannot agree with him in this sentiment. Most empires have originally been acquired by violence, but they are best established by moderation and justice. There was a time when we showed our-

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selves to the inhabitants of India in the character of tyrants and robbers; that time, I trust, is gone for ever. The wisdom of British policy, the equity of its jurisprudence, the impartiality of its laws, the humanity of its penal code, and, above all, the incorrupt administration of public justice, will, when they are well understood, make the Indians our willing subjects, and induce them to adopt a religion attended with such consequences to the dearest interests of human kind. They will rejoice in having exchanged the tyranny of pagan superstition, and the despotism of their native princes, for the mild mandates of Christianity, and the stable authority of equitable laws. The difference between such different states of civil society, as to the production of human happiness, is infinite; and the attainment of happiness is the ultimate aim of all individuals in all nations.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Though I have said in the preceding letter that some degree of civilisation is necessary to the successful introduction of Christianity among Pagans, I would not be thought wholly to discourage the attempt of introducing it amongst the most barbarous; for Christianity, once introduced in any degree, would presently become the most effectual means of humanising even cannibals, and offerers of human sacrifices to the manes of their ancestors. Civilisation, inasmuch as it inculcates moral distinctions, prepares men's minds for the reception of Christianity; and there is not a precept in the Christian religion which does not tend to strengthen the obligations, and to exalt the comforts of civilised life. Hence it may be truly said that Christianity and civilisation

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are of reciprocal use to each other. Notwithstanding this, the old saying, *Quodcunque recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis,* holds true in religion as well as in other things; we may as reasonably attempt to teach algebra to an infant as to inculcate into an uncivilised man either the pure principles of Christian morality or the sublime doctrines of our faith.

I made, in 1805 and 1806, a large plantation, consisting of three hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred larches, on two high and barren mountains, called Berkfell and Gomershow, situated near the foot of Winandermere. During the same period, I improved above an hundred and fifty acres of land, which was covered with heath, and not worth two shillings an acre, situated at Kelleth, in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmoreland. I know of no means more honourable, more certain, or more advantageous, of increasing a man's property, and promoting at the same time the public good, than by planting larches on mountainous districts, and improving low waste lands, (where lime is reasonable and the soil tolerable,) by bringing them into tillage. I drew up a paper on these subjects, and presented it to the Board of Agriculture in 1807. The paper was ordered by the Board to be printed among their communications, vol. viith, and a gold medal was unanimously voted to the author of it, whose motto prefixed to it was *Private Wealth, and Public Strength.*

Letter to Mr. Hayley, 14th June, 1806.

"Appearances, my dear Sir, are against me, accusing me of great indolence, of great incivility, and I know not of what other

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unpardonable crimes towards yourself; yet all appearances, as often is the case, are false. I waited with impatience for a long time in expectation of receiving from Cadell the kind present of your supplementary pages, and at length I wrote to have them sent: I received them yesterday, and have this day read a great part of them.

"You have cut up Cumberland with skill, without dirtying yourself by the nasty operation. What he may have said of me I have no curiosity to know, as I am certain that I shall never be at the trouble of either correcting his misapprehensions, or of refuting his malignity. I am aware that many years ago he wrote two pamphlets against me, or rather against my political principles; for I had no personal acquaintance with him, and therefore could not have offended him. On reading one of these two productions, I sat down to answer it; but I soon found that I was heating myself with cudgelling a dwarf, and, disdaining such a miserable occupation, I threw my weapons into the fire, and left him to sleep in peace:—his head was never made for close argumentation.

"You render every character you draw perfectly amiable: I am charmed with that of Mr. Rose in the last scene of his life; and not at all surprised that Paley's book strengthened his faith. Lawyers seldom read much theology; and that book is well calculated to make a great and proper impression on those who are little acquainted with the subject. Paley, in all his publications, had the art of making use, in a very great degree, of other men's labours, and of exhibiting them to the world as novelties of his own. The perspicuity with which he has arranged, and the ele-

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gant language in which he has explained many abstruse points, are his own; and for these I give him great praise.

"I am sleeping here as to all literary pursuits, and have nearly finished all my other pursuits. I have nearly done with planting, building, draining, and improving bad land: occupations these which I should probably never have thought of, had I not been compelled to them by the duty of making a moderate provision for a large family. If the world has lost any thing by a long intermission of the means of improving my faculties, and by a now absolute dereliction of all learned labour, the Government is in fault: their neglect obliged me to raise myself to exertions, useful no doubt, and necessary to my family, but not agreeable to myself. Whether the present men will have more consideration for me than I have hitherto experienced, I neither know nor care. I speak like an honest man when I say, that I care not about promotion. The seventieth year of any man's life should induce him, and it does induce me, to think of something better than either York or Worcester. If either of these sees should be offered to my acceptance on a vacancy, I shall endeavour to do my duty in a more important diocese than that which has engaged my attention for twenty-four years.

"I wonder that you do not feel an inclination to rest on your oars; but while your labours instruct and delight others, I hope they will be continued, and be of comfort to yourself.

"We are distressed by want of rain: we have plenty of it, (nearly sixty inches in the course of the year,) but very little comparatively speaking in the spring months. By dividing the year into three equal parts, beginning with February, I find the

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proportionable quantities of rain which fall in February, March, April, May; in June, July, August, September; in October, November, December, January, to be as 5, 11, 7, so that in the four summer months we have more than twice as much rain as in the four spring months. Whether these proportions extend to all other districts of the country, I have no means of knowing accurately, but I conjecture that they do.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

I had an occasional correspondence with Mr. Hayley, but I had neither time nor taste for letter-writing, and seldom kept copies of letters about nothing: the subjoined to Mr. Hayley, though here misplaced as to time, I met with since I finished the former part of these anecdotes.

Letter to Mr. Hayley, Nov. 2. 1805.

"My dear Sir,

"I SIT down to account to you for a long seeming neglect, and to beg you to accept the narration as an excuse for it. When your letter (I am ashamed to look at the date) of June the 23d arrived at Calgarth Park, I was visiting my diocese; after my return, a good deal of business and an incessant flux of *Lakers*, (such is the denomination by which we distinguish those who come to see our country, intimating thereby not only that they are persons of taste, who wish to view our lakes, but idle persons who love *laking*: the old Saxon word to lake, or play, being of common use among school-boys in these parts,) left me for several weeks

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no time to think of any thing but hospitality; and your letter lay hidden among a mass of papers which overspread my table. When I discovered it about a month ago, I was labouring with hands and knees to get rid of the gout which had seized both — another guest you will suppose of my hospitality. This is the first fit that I have had; it has not yet quite left me. I am not conscious of having deserved it by any intemperance, yet I blush for having introduced so great a malady into my family.

"I think Cowper's works are his best monument, and most of the subscribers will probably be of the same opinion. But as you desire me to speak frankly, I must say, that I think many of them will not be pleased with your change of purpose. Your intention of doing something for Mr. Rose's family is highly laudable, and of a piece with your general philanthropy; but a subscriber may justly say, If my subscription is to go in charity, I myself have many objects as deserving, and more connected with me than any godson of Mr. Cowper. As to my own subscription, I beg it may go, should you print no part of Milton, to the orphans you so kindly protect.

"I return my best thanks for the present of your Ballads; the subjects are well chosen, and the tales are sweetly told. On one of our highest mountains (Helvellyn) a man was lost last year: two months after his disappearance his body was found, and his faithful dog sitting by it: a part of the body was eaten, but whether hunger had compelled the dog to the deed is not known. I remember the late Duke of Northumberland having told me, that a young antelope of his had by accident been killed by a fall from the top of his house at Sion, to which it had ascended by a trap-door being left open at the head of a staircase, and that its

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mother, which was feeding in the pasture, refusing to quit the body, died of grief and hunger.

"A book concerning the habitudes of animals, by Mr. Bindley, was lately advertised: I have not yet seen it. The subject is curious but difficult: it requires long and patient attention to come to any certain conclusion respecting the manners and perhaps the *nascent* morals of animals; for a well-trained pointer, and other domesticated and well-educated animals seem to have a knowledge of what may be called their duty to their master. I leave this hint to your philosophy concerning the gradation of beings.

"I do not know of any book giving an account of institutions for the support of orphans: you probably may meet with something to your purpose in Justinian's Institutes, or in some of the Roman writers after the empire became Christian; for it is to Christianity, principally, that the world is indebted for charitable institutions. Widows indeed and orphans were at an early period of the Roman history exempted from taxation, to which all other persons were subjected: this curious fact is mentioned by Plutarch in his life of Publicola.

"Persius (Sat. iv. lib. 3.) calls Alcibiades the pupil of Pericles, but whether the term *pupillus* always means an orphan, I am not certain: perhaps the time of the death of his father Clinias, may be mentioned by Plutarch or Nepos. Coriolanus's father died when he was an infant. Alcibiades and Coriolanus would with Demosthenes make as noble a trio of orphans as all antiquity could furnish. If you wish for a *partie quarré*, and have no objection to the man, Mahomet is at your service.

"The opthalmia, I hope, has left you. Without doubt this complaint has been occasioned in yourself from the too great use

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you have made of your eyes; but a similar one, which afflicted our troops in Egypt, proceeded, I think, from a too great glare of light. My reason for this conjecture is founded on what happens to sheep: when our mountains continue for a long time covered with snow, a great many sheep become blind, and gradually receive their sight on the melting of the snow.

"If what I recommended to be done two years ago had then been adopted, we should now have had an hundred thousand youths instructed in the use of arms, and no one who considers our danger at present but must think that we have need of twice this number. When shall we have peace on earth? Never, till the cabinets of Kings and Emperors are guided by the spirit of Christianity.—Adieu. Permit me to hope that you continue your regard to your affectionate friend and servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

The Bishop of London about this time sent me his tract on the Beneficial Effects of Christianity, and I returned him my thanks in the following letter:—

"My dear Lord, Calgarth Park, Aug. 5. 1806.

"I YESTERDAY received, and have this day perused with great pleasure, your very seasonable, elegant, and well-arranged publication. Every serious Christian will think himself indebted to you for the judicious collection of facts by which you have contrasted Paganism with Christianity. What others had inadvertently mentioned you have treated in detail, and so completely decided the question—Whether Christianity has been of use to mankind?—that it will never be moved again. I am not dis-

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posed to think so ill of human nature as to conceive it to be a *mass of corruption incapable of any good actions, and destitute of all benevolent feelings.* Revealed religion does unquestionably, by its superior sanctions, assist us more effectually than reason can do, in restraining within due limits our passions, but neither of them enables us on every occasion to subdue them entirely.

Metius was torn to pieces by horses; Ravillac suffered a similar punishment; but (notwithstanding the apparent insensibility of Virgil) Livy's humane observation was, I am persuaded, as true concerning the Heathens in Italy, as the Christians in France, under similar circumstances — *Avertere omnes a tanta fœditate spectaculi oculos.*

" Christian warfare is certainly far less truculent than Pagan warfare either ever was or now is; and Arnobius had, even in his time, much reason on his side when he made the following remark: — *Non est difficile comprobare bella, post auditum Christum in mundo, non tantum non aucta verum etiam, majore ex parte, furiarum compressionibus imminuta. Nam cum hominum vis tanta magisteriis ejus acceperimus ac legibus, malum malo rependi non oportere; injuriam perpeti quam irrogare esse præstantius; suum potius fundere quam alieno polluere manus et conscientiam cruore habet in Christo beneficium jam dudum orbis ingratus, per quum feritatis mollita est rabies, atque hostiles manus cohibere a sanguine cognati animantis occœpit.* I like the *ingratus*, and give it to the philosophers whom you have so justly reprehended.

" I am, &c.

" R. Landaff."

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Letter to the Duke of Gordon on his having sent me a Paper of Col. Imrie's.

"My Lord Duke,

"I AM highly gratified by the perusal of Col. Imrie's paper: it is by such efforts that the geology of any particular country can be ascertained, or any sound conjecture formed concerning the nature of the globe we inhabit. The surface of this globe consists of three parts of water and of but one of earth, yet the accurate delineation of the one part would occupy the labours of all the philosophers in Europe for fifty years;—nothing less than such a delineation can ascertain the connections, interruptions, and mutual dependencies of the several strata which compose its surface.

"Some men are apt to enquire, What is the use of such investigation? I esteem these men to be as simple in their notions as the academic youths are, who being puzzled in attempting to pass the Asses' Bridge in Euclid, ask, Where is the use of going over it? For my own part, I am so confident of the utility which would attend an accurate knowledge of the stratification of this island, that I think a work of this kind ought to be undertaken at the public expense; and that every great river issuing from Plinlimmon, Skiddaw, Benevish, &c. should be examined through the whole of its course, with as much accuracy as the North Eske has been examined by Col. Imrie. The beds and veins of limestone, marble, coal, slate, sulphur, and metallic ores, are in the present state of society of such high importance, that every encouragement should be given to the discovery of them where they are not at present known; and nothing can more contribute to

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this end than an accurate knowledge of the manner in which these strata appear to this day in mountainous countries: analogy would then enable us to discover them where they are not known at present.

"I beg Your Grace to accept my thanks, for your goodness in sending me Col. Imrie's paper, and to take the trouble of assuring him that it will give me real pleasure to receive him, on any occasion, at Calgarth Park.

"Mrs. Watson and my young ladies regret that Your Grace favoured us with so short a visit, and unite with me in hoping for the future honour of your longer stay. Would it not be adviseable in future investigations, to mention the altitude of the mountains above the level of the sea?

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

The Bishop of St. Asaph died unexpectedly in October, 1806. It was very generally imagined that I should have been translated to that see; and that I might not furnish the minister (Lord Grenville) with the excuse for passing me by — that I had not asked for it, — I got a common friend to inform him, that on account of my northern connections the bishopric of St. Asaph would be peculiarly acceptable to myself. It was given to the Bishop of Bangor, and the bishopric of Bangor was given to the Bishop of Oxford.

I cannot truly say, that I was wholly insensible to these and to many similar arrangements by which I had been for so many years neglected, and exhibited to the world as a marked man

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fallen under Royal displeasure; but I can say, that neither was the tranquillity of my mind disturbed, nor my adherence to the principles of the Revolution shaken, nor my attachment to the house of Brunswick, *acting on these principles*, lessened thereby.

I knew that I possessed not the talents of adulation, intrigue, and versatility of principle, by which laymen as well as churchmen usually in courts ascend the ladder of ambition. I knew this, and I remained without repining at the bottom of it. I was sensible, at the same time, that His Majesty's favour was properly esteemed a source of honour, and being fearful lest his apparent disfavour (for I thought not on this occasion of ministers) should be considered as a stigma of disgrace, I sent the following letter to the Duke of Clarence, with whom I had corresponded on the slave trade: —

" Sir, Calgarth Park, 25th Nov. 1806.

" To acquire the esteem of wise and good men, is one of the few objects of ambition which we need not blush to own: this kind of ambition has I confess on all occasions actuated my mind, and I cannot but feel great uneasiness, that I have not acquired the esteem of the King. This uneasiness does not proceed from any disappointment of my hopes of profit or promotion, but from anxiety respecting my honour and character. The world will think (whatever *posterity* may think) that I could not have experienced the marked neglect in the line of my profession, which I have met with, unless I had merited His Majesty's disregard by private misconduct or public delinquency.

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" At no period of my life have I used any means of obtaining preferment except by endeavouring to deserve it; and in my seventieth year it would ill become me to be solicitous for a translation on my own account; but ever since bad health (brought on by a too incessant application to literary pursuits) rendered me unable to discharge in person the duties of my office in the University of Cambridge, I have been very desirous that the theological chair should not be filled by a deputy. I cannot resign the emolument of the office, for even with it, I am worse provided for than any of my brethren, and without it, I should not have a church income of fifteen hundred a-year at the most.

" I was told many years ago, that I had enemies at court; but not knowing how I could have incurred the enmity of any man alive, I did not credit the information; and if I had given credit to it, yet, being conscious of the strongest attachment to the constitution in church and state, and of the warmest loyalty to the King, I could never have stooped to the base business of counteracting private calumny except by public exertion.

" I call it public exertion, that in the general decline of public probity (a circumstance always attending and often causing the declension of states) I have uniformly dared to do my duty to my King and to my conscience, by preserving my parliamentary independence, and voting, when I did vote, not according to the suggestions of any party, but in compliance with the deliberate dictates of my own mind.

" It was in perfect conformity to this principle that on the question of the regency (when I thought that the ambition of the minister was injuring the right of the heir-apparent) I de-

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livered in the House of Lords a speech which I submit with a degree of confidence to posterity, from one of the most enlightened heads of the law (Sir James Aire) having assured me the day after it was spoken, that he thought it by far the most constitutional speech which had been delivered in either House of Parliament on that occasion.

" I call it public exertion, that in moments of danger, foreign and domestic, I have repeatedly endeavoured, by seasonable publications, to rouse the spirit of the country, to abate the ferment of sedition, and to stop the progress of infidelity among the mass of the people, being sensible that the subversion of government must accompany the extinction of religion.

" I call it public exertion, that in having formerly suggested to the Duke of Richmond, when Master-General of the Ordnance, a change in the manner of preparing charcoal for the fabrication of gunpowder, I have not only greatly improved the strength of the powder, but have annually saved to the country for many years, and am still saving to it (as I am credibly informed), above fifty thousand pounds a year. I have not ever thought of soliciting a reward from parliament for so great a service: the country is welcome to whatever I can do for its safety and prosperity.

" I should be sorry to be considered as boasting of these matters. I mention them from a hope that they will induce your Royal Highness not only to think favourably of me yourself, which will give me great satisfaction, but to pardon the liberty of my request, that you would have the condescension to show this letter to the Prince of Wales, whose good opinion I have reason to believe that I formerly possessed, and whom I by

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this means most earnestly entreat to take some opportunity of doing me justice with the King.

" I am, with great deference and respect,

" Your Royal Highness's most obedient servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

With the most gentleman-like attention, suited to his high rank, the Duke of Clarence immediately informed me, that he would transmit my letter to the Prince of Wales, then at Brighton.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 10th, 1807.

" My dear Lord Duke,

" I HAVE no personal knowledge of Doctor Buchanan, but I cannot help admiring his zeal in the promotion of learning in India. For two or three years successively I had an opportunity of perusing the account of the Collegium Bengalense, established at Fort William, under the auspices of the Marquis Wellesley; and I rejoiced very much at the prospect of the Christian religion, and of general science, being diffused throughout India, by the instrumentality of the youths who should in future be educated in that seminary. The Pagans of India, I thought, would in future story speak of Great Britain as the Egyptians spoke of Chaldea, as Greece spoke of Egypt, as Rome spoke of Greece,—as the parent of science and civilisation.

" I know nothing of the reasons which have induced either the government of the country, or the directors of the East-India Company, to ruin this College in its infancy: I suspect

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indeed that they are founded either on commercial avarice, which would not afford the expense of its establishment; or in religious indifference, which esteems Paganism as useful in the world as Christianity; or in irrational apprehension lest science and Christianity should render the natives less loyal subjects, than they are found to be under the influence of ignorance and superstition. If these, or reasons such as these, have occasioned the extinction of so noble an establishment, I may say that I do not admire the capacity of those who have been influenced by them.

"The Emperor of Russia in his declaration avows himself a supporter of the principles of the armed neutrality. Am I an enemy to my country, in doubting whether these principles are just; in doubting whether we have not, on the ocean, excercised *power* without *right?* — a practice equally detestable to me in public and in private life, between independent nations as between independent individuals.

"But what is now to be done? — Justice. Let it be examined whether we have or have not the right over neutral nations, which we contend for, and let the examination be founded on the broad basis of natural justice, rather than an ancient usage or compulsory conventions. If we have not, on impartial examination, the right we esteem, let us tranquillise Europe by not claiming it, and trust our cause to the providence of God. Even heathen merchants could say, — *Discite justitiam moniti et non temnere Divos.*

"The present crisis furnishes an admonition of the most alarming kind. But if we have right, let us die to a man rather than abandon it; for to abandon on great occasions the defence of

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right is to encourage the progress of wrong. Not but it may be a subject of consideration, whether the defence of right may not, in certain circumstances, cost more than it is worth.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Being appointed to preach at the Chapel-Royal on the 15th of February, 1807, I went to London in the beginning of that month, and published the sermon I then preached, together with another which I had preached in the same place eight years before, under the title of "A second Defence of revealed Religion." I had not written either of these sermons with an intention of publishing them, but being told that the Bishop of London had manifested his disapprobation of some parts of the latter by a significant shake of the head whilst I was preaching, I determined to let him see that I had no fear of submitting my sentiments on abstruse theological points to public animadversions, notwithstanding their not being quite so orthodox as his own; and I was the more disposed to do this, from having been informed, on the very best authority, that an imputed want of orthodoxy had been objected to me when the archbishopric of Armagh was given to Stuart.

What is this thing called Orthodoxy, which mars the fortunes of honest men, misleads the judgment of princes, and occasionally endangers the stability of thrones? In the true meaning of the term, it is a sacred thing to which every denomination of Christians lays an arrogant and exclusive claim, but to which no man, no assembly of men, since the apostolic age, can prove a title. It is frequently amongst individuals of the same sect nothing

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better than self-sufficiency of opinion, and pharisaical pride, by which each man esteems himself more righteous than his neighbours. It may, perhaps, be useful in cementing what is called the *alliance* between Church and State; but if such an alliance obstructs candid discussions, if it invades the right of private judgement, if it generates bigotry in churchmen or intolerance in statesmen, it not only becomes inconsistent with the general principles of Protestantism, but it impedes the progress of the kingdom of Christ, which we all know is not of this world.

On the 23d of March, 1807, the abolition of the Slave Trade was finally debated in the House of Lords; and I made the following speech: —

" My Lords,

" Though the question now before the House has occupied the deliberations of parliament, and engaged the attention of the public, for several years, yet it has so happened that I have never, before this day, had an opportunity of delivering in my place, my sentiments upon it. I now feel that I am standing in the situation of a zealous auxiliary, who, having been prevented from sharing honourably in the danger of the battle, is ambitious of participating in the triumph of victory.

" The origin of slavery, like the origin of most other civil institutions, is involved in great obscurity. There is good reason, however, to believe that it existed in the antediluvian world. Noah lived six hundred years in that world, and could not fail, in that period, of becoming well acquainted with its manners and institutions. In the course of a very few years after the Deluge,

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Noah pronounced a prophetic curse against one of the children of his youngest son Ham, saying of Canaan,—A servant of servants,—that is a slave of slaves, the vilest of all slaves,—shall he be to his brethren. This denunciation, Your Lordships will please to observe, would have been an unintelligible menace, had not the miserable state of slavery been well known to Noah and his sons.

" However this may be, it is clear from sacred history, the most authentic of all histories, that not only a trade in slaves subsisted in the age of Joseph, (when he himself was sold by his brethren to the Ishmaelites, who were travelling with their caravans into Egypt,) but that, two hundred years before that event, Abraham is said to have been rich, not only in gold and silver, in camels and asses, but in men slaves and women slaves; where the slaves are considered to be as much the property of Abraham as the cattle were. It may hence, I think, be inferred, that a state of slavery has been coëval with the origin of civil society, and, in truth, it almost springs from it. I conceive it to be the annexation of individual labour to things in common, which gives rise to property, but that it is the institution of civil society which gives security to it; and, unless in cases of extreme necessity, excludes every individual from the possession of it.

" When *Meum* and *Tuum* are once introduced among men, a selling of human labour for the support of human life is a necessary consequence; for the right of extreme necessity cannot exist till a man has offered, in vain, to give his labour for his subsistence.

" This bartering of labour for the support of life is a just origin of slavery. For though we should define slavery to be compulsory labour for the benefit of another, yet this is voluntary labour for a man's own benefit,—it is the fulfilment of a voluntary

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compact. This compact may be various in its conditions with regard to the nature and quantum of the labour to be performed, and with respect to its duration: the agreement may be made for a day, a month, a year, for many years, or for life; but how long soever it may last, I see no injustice in it, since it was voluntary in its commencement.

"Captivity in an unjust war is generally considered as another source of lawful slavery. I do not, on this occasion, mean to argue that point; though I must be allowed to think, that war has practices and principles peculiar to itself, which but ill quadrate with the rule of moral rectitude, and are quite abhorrent from the benignity of Christianity; and I do not clearly see the morality of making slaves of ignorant and innocent peasants, who have been compelled to fight the unjust battles of ambitious princes.

"Other origins of slavery might be mentioned, but I need not enter further into the discussion of them. A state of slavery has not only been coëval with society, but co-extensive with it. I know not whether a single city could be mentioned in any of the four celebrated monarchies of former times in which it did not exist, or any country, except a Christian country, in which it does not even now subsist.

"But there is one short argument, if there were no other, which proves that slavery is not as such opposite to justice. God cannot authorise injustice; but he did authorise slavery amongst the Jews; therefore slavery is not opposite to justice. Nor am I certain that slavery is any where expressly forbidden by the letter of the New Testament. *Man-stealing* is, indeed, expressly forbidden to Christians, as it was, under the penalty of death, forbidden to the Jews; but the Greek word rendered men-stealers,

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in the New Testament, does not probably mean the same as *men-buyers*, nor can we from thence infer, that a traffic in slaves is, *totidem verbis*, prohibited to Christians. Think not, My Lords, from what has been said, that I am becoming an advocate for slavery: I abhor it under every denomination; but I am not prepared to say that every species of slavery is unjust, contrary to the law of God, either natural or revealed. Notwithstanding this concession, I consider the abolition of the African Slave Trade as a noble triumph of Christian principle over the avarice of commerce; and if there is a God governing the affairs of men, (as doubtless there is, though we may not be able on every occasion to say this is His work,) this godlike act of the British legislature will never be blotted from the register of Heaven. We may, perhaps, experience, and speedily experience, great calamity; for what nation does not deserve punishment? But in the day of our distress God will remember this national act of general philanthropy; and the remembrance of it will arrest in its descent the rod of divine chastisement, or it will mitigate the severity of its fall.

"Let no friend to this horrid traffic undertake to palliate its atrocity by an appeal to the Mosaic code. The Jewish trade in slaves was as remarkable for its humanity as the African for the contrary. Were African slavery in all its circumstances similar to Jewish slavery, its continuance might have been not commended perhaps, but endured till a better state of society had taken place. It is very material too to remark, that many things were allowed to the Jews which are not allowed to Christians. The *lex talionis* was enjoined to the Jews, but Christians are forbidden to demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Polygamy and a frequency of divorce were indulged to the Jews: they are not

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allowed to Christians. The Jewish dispensation was calculated to render Jews a more moral people than the Heathens were, and the Christian dispensation is calculated to render Christians a peculiar people, more zealous of good works, than either the Heathens or the Jews were. To Christians, My Lords, there belongs a badge, by which they are or ought to be distinguished from every other description of men: there is inscribed on this badge a new commandment, —Love one another. — But in what corner of an African ship is this badge to be found? In what West India slave-market is this badge exhibited? To what whip of a Negro gang-driver is this badge appended? It is related of the Emperor Alexander Severus, that he showed great kindness to Christians on account of the benevolent maxims of their religion; and that he ordered the precept, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*, to be inscribed on the gates of his palace, and on other public edifices in Rome. We, My Lords, are on this day emulating the magnanimity of this Emperor. We are writing on the expanded sails of our African slave-ships, — "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" We are writing this summary of what the law hath commanded, or the prophets have taught, with a pen, plucked from a wing of the cherubim, shadowing the mercy-seat of Heaven: the inscription will be read with tears of gratitude throughout the continent of Africa: it will be read, to our honour, by every nation in Christendom; and it will sooner or later induce them all to follow our example: in a word, it will tend to humanise, to civilise, and ultimately to christianise the whole earth.

"But suppose that other nations should not immediately follow our example, we shall have the solid satisfaction of having done

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our duty. Duties, Your Lordships well know, are divided by moralists into duties of perfect and of imperfect obligation; but Christians scarcely allow this distinction, and even Heathens do not approve it; for they tell us, that to be innocent according to law is but a narrow principle of virtue. *Angusta est innocentia ad legem bonum esse*, says Seneca, when he observes that piety, pity, humanity, persuade men to the performance of many actions, all of which are *extra publicas tabulas*. The constable cannot seize a man, the magistrate cannot commit him, the country will not try him, and even Your Lordships will not question him at your bar, for the total neglect of actions which at another bar the most merciful of all judges will condemn him for not having performed; when he will say to those on his left hand, — "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, (a poor, despised, abused African, will not be excluded from this brotherhood,) ye did it not unto me."

"As to the political consequences which will attend our abolition of the Slave Trade, no human eye can foresee them all: I have a perfect persuasion that they will be beneficial to human kind, for I am certain that they spring from a root of undissembled piety and humanity.

"I never asked a question concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade except one, and that in the very beginning of the business. The question was put to a witness at Your Lordships' bar, a very respectable West-India planter of the name of Franklin. The question was this, Is it cheaper to breed and rear a slave or to buy a slave? The answer, after some hesitation, was, It is cheaper to buy than to breed a slave. From that moment I thought, and have continued to think, that if means could be

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devised by the wisdom of parliament, concurring with the experience of the colonial assemblies, of making it cheaper to rear than to purchase slaves, the trade would cease of itself.

" That the labour of the man should recompense the master of his parents for the maintenance of the child, is a just principle; and it is recognised as such by our own law, which permits the children of paupers to be bound apprentices; and I own I do not see any objection to the children of the present West-India slaves becoming free at the age of twenty-one, of twenty-five, or thirty years, at any period when it may be reasonably calculated that by their labour, as adults, they have repaid the masters of their parents, for the risk and expense attending their rearing and education. The maxim of the civil law, *Partus sequitur ventrem*, has always appeared to me to be an harsh maxim, inasmuch as it doomed the progeny of female slaves to be slaves through all generations: a perpetuity of slavery in a man's family being a far greater evil than the endurance of it in a man's person.

" It would be premature to say any thing further on this subject at this time, and I have no wish to anticipate public wisdom by any observation of mine; but it is not without thought that to the rearing I joined the education of the children of slaves; for if the West-India planters are ever to enjoy the benefit of having their lands cultivated by free Negroes born and brought up in their islands, the great interests of society require that they should be educated to a certain extent.

" I would conclude, My Lords, with paying my slender tribute of just praise to one individual whose persevering humanity so essentially contributed to the successful issue of this arduous undertaking; I would do this with sincere pleasure, were I not

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certain, that he feels in his heart a comfort which no praise of man, at least which no praise of mine, can augment:—his reward is in heaven."

Soon after this, the able administration, (greatly indeed weakened by the loss of Mr. Fox,) which had been formed on the death of Mr. Pitt, was dismissed. The ostensible reason of their dismission was, the King's dislike of a measure which they had brought forward in parliament respecting the Irish Catholic officers. The ministers were wisely moved by a liberal and prospective policy, to endeavour to consolidate as much as possible the strength of the empire, by opening to Catholic officers in the army and navy the same road to honour and emolument which had always been open to Protestants. They were sensible that almost every Gazette which announced the success of our enterprises, made distinguished mention of the gallantry of the inferior Catholic officers; and they wished to confirm the loyalty, and to stimulate the ambition, of such men, by putting them on a level with their fellows in arms.

Unfortunately the King did not see this measure in the same light that his Whig ministers did, and he required them to give him a pledge that they would never more bring forward the question of granting further indulgence to the Irish Catholics. This requisition was not only unprecedented in the annals of the house of Brunswick since its accession to the throne of Great Britain, but it was considered by many as of a tendency dangerous to the constitution; and to me it appeared to be not in words but in fact a declaration of a—*sic volo.* Had His Majesty

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dismissed his ministers because he disliked their measures, no one would have denied such an exertion of his prerogative to have been perfectly constitutional, (how much soever he might have individually questioned the discretion of using it in such a crisis;) but to require from privy counsellors, and much more to require from confidential servants of the crown, that they would at any time cease to advise His Majesty for what they esteemed the public good, was to brand them as unprincipled slaves to the royal will, and traitors to the country. The ministers refused to cover themselves with the infamy which would justly have attended their submission to such a demand: they refused, and were dismissed: such sort of ministers would have lost their heads at Constantinople; at London, they, *as yet*, only lose their places. Whilst there remained a competitor of the Stuart family to the throne of Great Britain, the kings of the house of Brunswick were perhaps afraid of the competition; and were satisfied with having been elevated, from an arbitrary dominion over a petty principality in Germany, to the possession of a limited monarchy, over the most enlightened and the most commercial nation in the world. That competition being now extinguished, it could not be thought unnatural were they to indulge a desire of emancipating themselves from the restraints of parliament; but there is no way of effecting this so secret, safe, and obvious, as by corrupting it. When Rome possessed the empire of the world, its emperor had ample means of corrupting the integrity of the whole senate, and it soon became subservient to his will: public liberty was swallowed up by private profligacy. The first Lord Chatham was a Cato when he declared that Hanover was a mill-stone about the neck of

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Great Britain; but he became a supple courtier when he boasted of having conquered America in Germany; and he forfeited the esteem of good men when he attempted to adorn the sepulchre of his patriotism by a pension and a peerage. Since his time, for one Cato, one Rockingham, one Saville, one Chatham, (in his honourable days,) we have had, and have, and probably always shall have, (as long as we remain an opulent and luxurious nation,) hundreds resembling him in the decline of his political virtue.

I felt myself, as a Whig, interested in the mode of dismissing this third, half Whig half Tory administration, which had taken place during the reign of George the Third; and I sent to Lord Grenville, with whom I had a slight acquaintance, on the first of April, the following resolution, as fit to be introduced into the House of Lords, whenever the subject should be brought forward:—

"Resolved, That whoever has advised, or shall in future advise, His Majesty to require from his confidential servants a pledge, that they will, on any occasion, abstain from submitting to his consideration any measure of government which they, in their consciences, believe to be conducive to the public weal, is, and ought by this House, to be declared to be an enemy to the constitution of the country."

Lord Grenville sent me word, that he adopted the resolution *in toto*, thinking it better than any thing which had occurred either to himself or his friends.

Doubting, however whether a less firm resolution might not

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be more acceptable to the then House of Lords, I got a friend, (the Duke of Grafton,) to send in his own name to Lord Howick the subjoined, on the seventh of April, informing, at the same time, Lord Grenville that I had done so:—

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that His Majesty's confidential servants cannot, consistently with their duty to the King, enter on any occasion into any engagement that they will refrain from submitting to His Majesty's consideration any measure of government which they in their consciences shall believe to be compatible with the honour and dignity of the crown, and conducive to the safety and prosperity of the empire."

With either of these resolutions I would have let the matter drop, without proceeding to enquire who had been the King's advisers, or whether he had acted without advice. My opinion then was, and still is, that His Majesty in the dismission of his ministers acted without advice; and if he did this in obedience to the dictates of an ill informed, or even a scrupulous conscience, respecting the obligation of his coronation-oath, he acted like an honest man, as to the matter of the dismission; though, as to the mode of it, he seemed, to my apprehension, to have transgressed the limit of a just prerogative.

Something different from, but not better than either of the above resolutions, was moved by the Marquis of Stafford in the House of Lords, on the thirteenth of April, and negatived by a great majority, after a debate which lasted till seven o'clock the next morning. I sat the whole night next to the Bishop of Durham: I knew his sentiments, and intended to have answered

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him, had he taken any part in the debate. The House, it was said, had never been so full, nor had ever sat so long. The parliament, which had only sat a few months, was soon after dissolved, but not before it had been menaced with a dissolution, if it did not support the new ministers. It not only did support the new ministers, but it did not impeach, as it ought to have done, the Secretary of State, (Mr. Canning,) by whom it had been menaced.

The new ministers, with the Duke of Portland at their head, artfully for themselves, but improvidently for the country, raised the cry of *No Popery*, and *The Church is in danger*, without bestowing a single thought on the danger of the state. The church is in no danger from *Popery*; but the state must ever be in danger from discontent, whilst a large portion of its members is looked upon by government with a jealous and a repulsive eye. To suspect a Catholic or a Dissenter of disaffection, what is it but to suggest to him a cause for it; but to excite in him a wish for an opportunity of showing it? Little does he know of human nature, and less of Gospel charity, who expects to root out the prejudices either of individuals or of societies by unkindness, to extinguish animosity by violence, or a spirit of revenge by want of confidence.

Whilst this miserable clamour against Popery and the Church's danger lasted, I never hesitated to declare my opinion, that it was both just, and in the state of Bonaparte's strength and temper towards us, highly expedient, to receive both Catholics and Dissenters into the bosom of the constitution; but that it was improper to press any innovation till the people were pre-

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pared to receive it; and that I thought the time was not yet come for the general adoption of such a politic and equitable principle of government. Toleration was in every man's mouth; but dominion over the faith of other men, exclusion from privileges possessed by themselves, and a disposition to the exercise of *power without right*, were in the hearts of a great part, probably of a majority, of the people of Great Britain.

In June of the same year, (1807,) Mr. Buckminster, a very respectable clergyman, called at my house, in Westmoreland, and delivered to me a letter from Dr. Elliot, Secretary to the *Massachusetts Historical Society*, enquiring whether I would accept the election which the Society had made of me, to become a member of it. I immediately sent to Dr. Elliot the following letter, and was much ashamed of my negligence, in not having sooner returned thanks for the honour which I had long known had been spontaneously done me: —

" Reverend Sir, Calgarth Park, 18th June, 1807.

" The day before yesterday, I was honoured by your letter of May 26th, 1806, delivered to me by Mr. Buckminster, whom I could not prevail upon to favour me with more than an *en passant* visit, though I am certain, from what I saw of him, that I have cause to lament that his engagements would not suffer him to make a longer stay.

" I accept with great pleasure and gratitude the distinction you announce to me, of becoming a member of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*. My studies have not, at any period, been particularly directed to historical enquiry; and, at the age of seventy, I must despair of being able to render the Society any

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service as an associate, especially as I am ignorant of its general design, as it respects either ancient or modern history.

" Nothing can be more interesting either to philosophers or divines, than the history of the human species, considered in its several parts, or as constituting one great whole. The first will be gratified with tracing the progression and the retrogradation of human intellect, according to the influence of physical and moral causes; and the second will be penetrated with the highest veneration for the Bible, which commences, and as it were arranges, the history of human kind, by referring all nations to one common stock. In this view, the distinction between ancient and modern history vanishes; the two together constitute one whole, originating in Adam, and subjected to the moral government of one Incomprehensible Being, from whom every thing is derived. The *real existence*, and the quality and extent of this moral government, which are best discerned by comparing together the circumstances of the species with respect to happiness, virtue, and intelligence, at different periods of its existence, present themselves to my mind as fit objects of historical discussion.

" But I forbear, from not having any knowledge of the ends for which your Society has been established, and I conclude with expressing my most ardent wishes, that the offspring of Great Britain may be as illustrious in the peaceful arts of life, as the mother from whom she has sprung has long been; and that she may be more fortunate than her parent has been, in escaping the calamity of frequent wars, principally occasioned by the avarice of commerce, and the ambition of despotism; and that she may be more fortunate also in escaping that excess of wealth which, by introducing luxury, undermines the probity of individuals,

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enervates the physical strength of nations, and subverts the freest constitutions.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

I afterwards learned, by a letter from Mr. Buckminster, dated July 6th, 1807, that the Massachusetts Historical Society had been instituted about twelve years ago, in consequence of the exertions of some clergymen of Boston, especially of Dr. Belknuss, author of two accurate and interesting volumes of American Biography, of the History of New Hampshire, and of several Historical Tracts; that the enquiries of the Society had been entirely confined to American History, and peculiarly to that of the American States; that there were already published eleven volumes of its collections, consisting of curious and scarce Tracts, manuscript and printed; Topographical Descriptions; Letters and Communications, relating to the Aborigines of the Country, and illustrating its earlier annals; and papers of various kinds, which had much increased the stock of materials for the future historian of the Western World. That this Society had undoubtedly been the most industrious, and perhaps not the least useful, of the New England Literary Associations.

Extract of a Letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated Calgarth, July, 1807, who had sent me a despairiug Account of himself.

" ON my return to this place, I met with your obliging letter, and am sincerely sorry to find, that my apprehensions respecting your health were not unfounded.

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"Your body cannot be in better hands than in those of your physician, nor your mind in better than in your own. Were your body in perfect health, your mind, I think, would not be disturbed by anxiety; for which, I trust, there is no reasonable ground. Divines, with the best intentions, have said more than the Scriptures have said concerning repentance, and have thereby precipitated men into despair, and consequent impenitence and hardness of heart. The state of a man, who having left off sinful habits returns to them again, is certainly dangerous, because it shows the strength of habit to be superior to his resolution; but I do not know that it is any where represented in Scripture as desperate, and a return to virtue as impossible; for neither Heb. x. 38., nor Second Peter, ii. 20, 21., though referred to by Tillotson on this point, will bear out the conclusion.

"I dislike extremely that gloomy theology, which would make the Supreme Being more inexorable than a man: the whole tenour of Scripture speaks a contrary language; and we know nothing from *reason* of his divine attributes, except from their bearing some analogy to our own. Now, what father of a family would say to a repentant son, "Your repentance comes too late, and I will never forgive you." The father may suspect the sincerity of his son's repentance, and from that suspicion may withhold his forgiveness; but God cannot suspect, for he knows our repentance to be sincere, or otherwise; and if sincere, I trust he will, of his fatherly clemency, accept our repentance, though we may have swerved from the rectitude of former resolutions.

"Repentance is a change of principle, accompanied by a change of conduct; we may be snatched away, and have no opportunity of proving the sincerity of our principle by our

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practice; but God, who knows things that would be, as if they were, will judge of the sincerity or insincerity of our principle, by what would happen; and if our μεταvοια be, at any time of life, even after repeated lapses, in his judgment, sincere, I see no ground in reason or Scripture for despairing of his forgiveness.

"In thinking of our Heavenly Father, we ought to bear in mind the answer which our Saviour made to Peter's question:—"Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him?" The answer, though it gives no encouragement to presumptuous sinners, gives great comfort to such a creature as man, whose life is spent in sinning, and in being sorry for his sin.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, July 18th, 1807.

"My dear Lord Duke,

"As to our prospects, nothing can be worse; but since you wish to know what I think ought to be done, I send Your Grace my opinion, independent of all party. My opinion is, that Catholics and Dissenters ought to have all civil privileges conceded to them with a cordiality of sincere affection; that the Volunteers should be put in good humour, by being thanked by both Houses of Parliament, and requested again to come forward for the resistance of *actual* invasion; that all the males in the empire, from eighteen to forty-five years of age, not enrolled as Volunteers or serving as Regulars, should be immediately called forth, classed, and taught the use of arms, and incorporated as they became fit, with the Regulars; that, above all other things,

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an administration should be formed of men of military knowledge and statesman-like knowledge, and not of men who, as Cicero has it, — *Ad honores adipiscendos et ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt, nulla cognitione rerum nulla scientia ornati.* In my time, I have known no lawyer (first Lord Camden excepted) deserving the name of a statesman, and yet I have known lawyers more deserving that appellation than either of those who now preside in the cabinet.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Letter to a Friend, on his asking my Opinion on the Death of his Mother, whether we should know one another in a future State.

" My dear Sir,

" OUR Saviour has said, that " We shall be like the angels of God," immortal; yet St. John has said, " It doth not yet appear what we shall be:" there is no contradiction in this. We are sure of immortal life; but the connections, habits, relations, intercourses of that life, are not revealed to us. I dare not speak with confidence on a subject whereon St. John professes his ignorance.

" Had you asked me whether we should in a future state experience pain, and sorrow, and death, I should have answered, No. Had you asked me whether we should retain a memory of our good and bad deeds, I should have answered, Yes; — because I am certain that the righteous Judge will give such a righteous judgment, that every individual will have a consciousness of its rectitude. But when you ask me, whether we shall know one

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another in a future state, I hesitate in my reply; and as we say in the University when there are not arguments of sufficient weight to make our judgment preponderate on either side, I say, *Non liquet.* To be serious, all that can be certainly known on the subject is this,—That God will not withhold from those whom he adopts as his sons any thing which can contribute to their happiness; and if the earthly attachments formed in this first scene of existence will contribute to our happiness they will be continued to us, and that continuance implies a future recognition of beloved connections. Yet, on the other hand, it may be said, if we know our friends, and retain sentiments of affection for them, we must also know our enemies, and thus be again exposed to emotions of fear, dislike, aversion; but in a future state we expect freedom from bad passions, and real tranquillity of mind; and it is probable that human affections will be absorbed in the love of God and of our Saviour.

"The strongest text for out mutual knowledge in a future state occurs in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. ii. ver. 19., where Paul says, that "They will be his hope, his joy, his crown of glorying in the presence of Jesus Christ at his coming."

"There is a similar expression, 2 Cor. chap. i. ver. 14.

"From these passages it may, perhaps, be justly inferred that Paul expected to know personally those whom he had converted to Christianity.

"I am, &c.

"R. L."

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Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Dec. 8. 1807, who in a circular Letter had desired me to send him some Account of the Schools in my Diocese.

" My Lord Archbishop,

" According to my promise I now transmit to Your Grace the best account which I can obtain of the schools in my diocese. In eighty-five parishes there are public schools, and in fifteen of these, more than one; — in eighty-seven parishes there are no public schools; and from thirty-six my Registrar has not procured any answer to the enquiries which I directed him to make. There are very few, if any, Catholics in the county of Glamorgan, but many in Monmouthshire, though only one school for Catholics, which is kept by a woman, who admits Protestant children, and teaches them (as she says) our Catechism. There are very many Methodists, Anabaptists, Independents, &c., but only few Presbyterians, in Monmouthshire: there are, however, no schools wherein the children of these various Dissenters are taught separately from the children of the Established Church.

" In addition to the public schools, there are many private schools in my diocese, not a few of them consisting of thirty children or more. Many of these private schools are supported by voluntary contribution; and of these, where the parents are obliged to pay for their children's schooling, the price is from two-pence halfpenny to three-pence a-week; and for this they are taught reading, writing, the two or three first rules in arithmetic, and in general the Church Catechism.

" If Your Grace will permit me to deliver my opinion on this subject, I think that the education of the children of the poor is a matter well deserving the consideration of Government, inas-

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much as a proper education of the lower classes is amongst them, as amongst all others, the parent of piety and of good morals. But I think, at the same time, that an education suited to the circumstances and situation of the children of the poor is in very few, if in any, parts of Great Britain so neglected as to require the interposition of the legislature to compel a general amendment of it.

" It is computed that there are nine births to two marriages; now there are very few parents, comparatively speaking, among the peasants or manufacturers of the country, who cannot spare from their earnings three-pence a-week, for two or three years, to each of their four or five children for their education; and where they cannot afford even such a pittance, for such a purpose, I think so well of mankind as to believe, that it would be voluntarily supplied to them by their richer neighbours, if, from their sobriety and industry, they appeared to be deserving objects of benevolence and beneficence.

" Your Grace, without doubt, will have seen a printed letter, addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, respecting a recent re-publication of " Ward's Errata" of the Protestant Bible. Doctor Ryan, the author of this letter, declares that he is preparing an answer to Ward's book; and this declaration will prevent me from attempting to answer it, should I, on perusing, judge it entitled to serious animadversion. In this retirement, indeed, I am not, for want of books, well furnished for such an undertaking; yet here I wrote my answer to Paine; and here, had not the ground been pre-occupied, I would have entered the lists with the Catholic champions of " Ward's Errata," in support of the Protestant Establishment, though I certainly do not (as

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Dr. Ryan somewhat illiberally intimates that we *all* do) owe the little fortune I possess to the Church.

"In the answer which I sent, Nov. 28th, to the Doctor's letter, is the following paragraph, which he may perhaps interpret as proceeding from episcopal *supineness*, but which Your Grace will more reasonably refer to my desire of abating the too violent effervescence of his own zeal.

"'I am extremely sorry that the Catholics are, at this time, 'reviving a controversy which can have no favourable issue even 'to themselves; but which, unless it be carried on by both par-'ties with a zeal for nothing but truth, and in a spirit of sincere 'Christian charity, may have consequences dangerous to public 'tranquillity.'

"I am Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

The paper alluded to in this letter was directed to the Archbishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, in the following terms:—

"I think it my duty to acquaint the heads of our Church with a book lately published in Dublin, entitled "Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible." This book was first published in England, in the year 1688; but never was answered: its author possessed such talents, that Archbishop Tenison attacked his "Monomactria," though an anonymous tract! But his chief work was his "Errata;" an infamous libel on the Protestant Bible, and now brought forward as an unanswerable production. In this work the translators of our Bible are charged with adding to the sacred text; with

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altering or corrupting it in more than one hundred and thirty places; and with doing so not from negligence, ignorance, oversight, or mistake, but designedly, wilfully, and maliciously, to impose on the weak by a corrupt, imperfect, and partial translation. This and other writings of Ward were so hostile to the feelings of English Protestants, to the Protestant establishment, and perhaps to the laws, that he fled from England to France, and died there. Yet this work was re-published in Dublin last month, under the patronage of several Romish clergymen: one hundred and ten of whom are subscribers to it! Two thousand copies of this thin quarto were printed by Coyne, East Arran Street, Dublin: Keating and Brown, booksellers, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, London, subscribed for one thousand of them; and the book is sold in Cork, Limerick, and in every town of the smallest consequence in Ireland. I am preparing an answer to this book; but much better answers may be expected from such of the bishops and clergy as possess more leisure, more information, and better talents than I. The most supine bishops will be roused to a degree of zeal on seeing a libel on his Bible, by which he hopes for salvation, and on his Church to which he owes his rank and fortune.

"William Street, Dublin, Nov. 1807. EDWARD RYAN.

"My answer will be anonymous."

This was written but not printed.

Though the following letter from a clergyman near Bath, with whom I had no acquaintance, is far too complimentary to myself,

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yet as the subject of it is of importance, I shall do religion no disservice in publishing it and my answer to it. I received it in December, 1807.

" My Lord,

" No writer of the present day has, in my opinion, done so much credit to the cause of Christianity as Your Lordship. Yours are the only writings I ever read which contain that dignified liberality of mind, which is so peculiarly the characteristic of Christianity: they possess, likewise, a warmth and a zeal which might be thought incompatible with that liberal temper of mind which you possess; for liberality is often thought to be another name for indifference. I take the liberty of addressing Your Lordship, because I am persuaded that you are zealous in the cause of Christianity, and because I think that you are its ablest defender now alive. I wish to call Your Lordship's attention to a book which is now very generally read, and which Your Lordship may have seen, " An Essay on Population," by Mr. Malthus. It is a book which, in my opinion, endeavours to establish a code of morality in opposition to the morality of the Gospel. To me it appears the most insidious attack ever made on Christianity, though the author pretends to be a Christian divine. As Your Lordship has answered those writers who have endeavoured to undermine the doctrines of Christianity, perhaps you will show the same zeal in defending its moral precepts. The design of the present letter is to prevail on Your Lordship to answer Mr. Malthus.

" If my sentiments should not happen to meet with Your Lordship's approbation; if you should think favourably of

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Mr. Malthus; it would give me infinite satisfaction to hear the grounds on which Your Lordship thinks his Essay can be justified, and on which it can be reconciled to the spirit of Christianity; for to me they appear so much at variance that I am compelled to give up either the one or the other. I speak not of Mr. Malthus's book merely as a theory which may do mischief in the world, but as a theory which has already done incalculable mischief within my own knowledge: it has brought benevolence into contempt: in a country where this book is in high estimation, the justices look upon it as an act of virtue to depress the poor: to assist the poor in a time of scarcity is thought to be the extreme of folly. A man who would think of doing so is said to have "high-flying notions about benevolence." If a poor man be ever so industrious, it matters not if he be found guilty of having a large family, no other accusation is required. He ought to suffer for his own imprudence, they say, lest a famine should be the consequence.

"A very little eloquence is necessary in order to make us love ourselves, and to keep what we have. Mr. Malthus has applied to the weak side of human nature, and it is not wonderful that he has so much prevailed. He tells the rich that the poor have no right to live; (or, as he would say, no right to subsistence when they cannot obtain it by their labour;) the rich are very ready to believe his doctrine; and he is now so much read and so much esteemed, that no man but a man of eminence and superior talents can effectually counteract the notions which he has disseminated.

"This book has, indeed, been answered, but merely by poli-

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ticians who seem ashamed of Christianity; and, as a politician, I know not that Mr. Malthus can be completely answered.

" With the greatest respect, I am your most obedient servant,

" * * *.

" I take the liberty of adding my direction."

I immediately returned the following answer, having no disposition to enter into a controversy with Mr. Malthus, and thinking it impossible that there should be either justices or rich men such as are described in the letter.

" Rev. Sir, Calgarth Park, Dec. 19. 1807.

" Your apprehensions that mischief may arise to religion and morals from the circulation of Mr. Malthus's book, (which I never read,) are probably well founded, and your anxiety that a proper answer should be given to it is certainly creditable to yourself, and highly becoming your function. That you think so well of me as to wish for my animadversions on this book, I consider as a valuable compliment to myself, to which I sincerely wish I had better pretensions.

" Though I have not read this book, I have looked into it: but perceiving that the author was endeavouring to show the utility of bringing down the population of the earth to the level of the subsistence requisite for the support of man, (a proposition wanting no proof, since where there is no food man must die,) I thought his time and talents would have been better employed in the investigation of the means of increasing the subsistence to the level of the population; and I laid the book aside.

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" I thought myself justified in thus neglecting to peruse a book thwarting the strongest propensity of human nature, and contradicting the most express command of God, " Increase and multiply ;" especially as I was persuaded that the earth had not in the course of six thousand years from the creation ever been replenished with any thing like one half the number of inhabitants it would sustain.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

I had long *suspected* that I was, from I know not what *just* cause, obnoxious to the court; but I did not, till after the archbishopric of York had been given to the Bishop of Carlisle, *know* that I had been proscribed many years before. By a letter from a noble friend, the Duke of Grafton, dated 10th December, 1807, I was informed that one of the most respectable earls in the kingdom, who had long known my manner of life, on a vacancy of the mastership of Trinity College, had gone of his own accord (and without his ever mentioning the circumstance to me) to Mr. Pitt, stating what just pretensions I had to the offer of it; that Mr. Pitt concurred with him, but said that a *certain person* would not hear of it. Ought I to question the veracity of Mr. Pitt? No, I cannot do it. What then ought I to say of a certain person who had repeatedly signified to *me* his high approbation of my publications, and had been repeatedly heard to say to *others*, that the Bishop of Landaff had done more in support of religion than any bishop on the bench? I ought to say with St. Paul, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.*

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Notwithstanding this anecdote, I cannot bring myself to believe that the King was either the first projector or the principal actor in the sorry farce of neglecting a man whom they could not dishonour, of distressing a man whom they could not dispirit, which has been playing at court for near twenty-six years.

But be the *dramatis personæ* whom they may, the curtain which will close the scene is fast falling both on them and me; and I hope so to attemper my feelings of the wrong they have not wilfully, perhaps, but unadvisedly done me, as to be able at the opening of the next act to embrace them with Christian charity and unfeigned good will; for the detestable maxim *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare* will not be heard of in heaven. The knowledge that the neglect I had suffered was rather owing to the will of the monarch than to the ill will of the minister gave me pleasure. It removed in a degree from my mind a suspicion which I had long reluctantly entertained, that Mr. Pitt had always been my enemy. I did not expect, indeed, that any minister would be very zealous in promoting a man who professed and practised parliamentary and personal independence; but Mr. Pitt had been under obligations to me, and he knew that I had always been the warm friend of his warm friend the Duke of Rutland: and I was unwilling to suppose him capable of forgetting either obligations or connections in the pursuit of his ambition.

As to the King's dislike of me, unless his education had made him more of a Whig, it was natural enough. My declared oppo-

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sition to the increased and increasing influence of the crown had made a great impression on His Majesty's mind; for on the day I did homage he asked the Duke of Rutland if his friend the Bishop of Landaff was not a great enemy to the influence of the crown; saying, at the same time, that he wished he had not a place of two hundred a-year to give away.

I presume not to question the truth of this declaration of His Majesty, but I speak with some certainty of the truth of the Duke of Rutland's reply,—"That the Bishop of Landaff was an enemy to the increase of the influence of the crown, from an apprehension that it would undermine the constitution." This apprehension was not then unfounded, nor has it since then been lessened, but greatly augmented, especially by the enormous augmentation of the national debt. Though it was not convenient to me to take a journey to London in order to attend my duty in parliament at the opening of the session in 1808, yet I was so alarmed at the danger in which the country then stood, that I wished to make a little effort to assist it, and I wrote the following letter with an intention of sending it to Lord Camden (then President of the Council) as a private communication; but fearing lest the design of writing to a minister, though I was well acquainted with him, should have been misinterpreted into a desire of courting his favour, I changed the beginning of it, and sent it to a man whose honour and talents I greatly respected, — Earl Moira.

"My dear Lord, Calgarth Park, Feb. 16. 1808.

"In sitting down to congratulate you (which I do with great sincerity) on the birth of your son, I will take the opportunity of

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sending you my sentiments on the state of public affairs; for though I am buried in the mountains of Westmoreland, I am not inattentive to what is passing in that part of the world with which I am connected.

" It is now three years ago since I said in my place in the House of Lords, 'The die is in the air which, in its fall, will indicate the ruin of Buonaparte or of Britain; and the consequent reduction of France within its ancient limits, or the reduction of all Europe under the military yoke of France.' This prediction, vain as it was then thought, is now in part fulfilled; —— is in part fallen; — Europe, the whole continent of Europe, is enslaved, and the ruin of Britain is, I fear, impending. There are many causes from which I think this ruin is impending.

" 1st. From disunion amongst ourselves. A third part of the people composing the empire think that in their civil rights they are ill treated. I do not mean to enter into the question whether the Catholics in Ireland and the Dissenters in England think on this subject rightly or not; the fact, I believe, cannot be doubted, that they do think so: this thought has weakened, and will continue to weaken, and will at length destroy the means of our defence against France.

" 2d. From the desertion of our allies. In all the wars which we have waged with France, from the age of Lewis the Fourteenth to the present time, we have had continental allies; we now have none, or next to none. The most powerful even of those we formerly had not only has deserted us, but is gone over to our enemy; either compelled thereto by his fears, or, which is more probable, seduced thereto by prospects of advantage held out to him at Tilsit. This former ally now speaks to us in an imperious

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language, sufficiently indicative of his secret engagements with Buonaparte, and not to be endured by us as a great and independent nation, only it may be found consistent with good policy to dissemble our resentment, till we can show it in something more effectual than in diplomatic disgust. *He pre-engages, he proclaims, he demands, he declares, he expects,* he will not be *satisfied,* till all the points he so unequivocally mentions are granted. This language he would not have used, had he longer respected our friendship.

" 3d. From the detestation in which our treatment of neutral nations is held by all the maritime states of Europe. About fifty years ago Mr. Jenkinson (now Lord Liverpool) published an ingenious pamphlet on this subject: I perused it at the time of its first publication, and have often considered it since, but have always had great difficulty in admitting its conclusion on the broad basis of natural justice, rather than on that of ancient usage, or compulsatory convention. It was in 1780, when this country was distressed by the American war, that the Empress Catherine, taking advantage of our situation, formed what has been called the Armed Neutrality; from the principles of which the Emperor of Russia now declares that he will never depart. The formation of this novel system under the auspices of Russia twenty-eight years ago, and now avowedly adhered to, indubitably shows in what detestation our maritime code is held by other nations.

" I am far from saying that such detestation is a reason for our changing the system under which we have so long prospered: but I do say that it is a solid reason for reconsidering, with the utmost impartiality, whether it is founded in justice, and if not

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founded in justice, for relinquishing it; for prosperity founded in injustice is never lasting. But should it, on reconsideration, be deemed founded in justice, there would still be reason for solemn deliberation, whether in the present state of Europe and of America it might not be more expedient for us to consent to some modification of it, or even to give it up entirely, than to risk our existence as a nation by maintaining it. *Nations as well as individuals often promote their interests more fundamentally by abandoning than by enforcing their rights.* To persevere in a sameness of conduct when a change of circumstances (such as the annihilation of the balance of power in Europe; such as a combination of all the powers of Europe against us; such as the rise of a new power in America, which in less than a century will be superior to all other powers,) renders a change of conduct expedient, is a great political error.

" This error often proceeds from a want of discernment, in not seasonably observing the change of circumstances, and foreseeing the consequences likely to attend it; and often also from an ill judged notion of there being a degree of dishonour in a change of conduct. The *idem manebat, neque tamen idem decebat,* is an unperceived rock on which the fortunes of kings, as well as of private persons, have been often shipwrecked. It was the rock on which Charles the First perished. He did not perceive that, though he governed the same people nominally that his ancestors had done, their understandings, manners, principles, were essentially changed. It was the rock on which Britain split and lost America: we did not advert to the difference between young colonies which wanted our protection, and grown up colonies which were able to protect themselves.

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" 4th. From the inveteracy of Buonaparte. Of this inveteracy there are two causes: the hope of becoming popular in France by adopting the ancient prejudices, and encouraging the ancient rivalry of his nation against us.

" The fear lest the asylum which we have so honourably afforded to the royal family of France should ultimately endanger his usurpation.

" This sort of fear accompanies all usurpers. Buonaparte's enmity to us is an exact counterpart of Cromwell's enmity to the Dutch, with whom he would not make peace but upon the express conditions of their abandoning the interests of Charles the Second, and stipulating to receive no exile from England into their dominions. Justice, no doubt, does not oblige us to protect others to our own ruin, especially as we neither are or ever have been connected with them by ancient bonds of amity or by positive alliance; but honour, and humanity, and Christian commiseration, do require us to assist the unfortunate princes who, being rudely driven from all other countries, have sought a refuge in our own.

" Peace, a permanent and an advantageous peace, might, I am of opinion, be now made, did we honestly engage to acknowledge his title, and to give no assistance to the exiled family, either by fomenting internal dissensions in France, or forming external alliances in their favour, and to expel them from the dominions of the King. Though I wish for peace, my mind is not yet so humbled by apprehensions, as to wish for it on such terms.

" We are accused of being disturbers of the Continent. If to oppose the desolating progress of insatiable ambition and unprincipled rapacity; if to preserve ourselves and others, by making

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continental alliances, from being swallowed up in the gulf of universal empire, be to become disturbers of the Continent, then are we rightly accused. We are accused of being the tyrants of the seas. If to preserve ourselves from invasion by blocking up in their ports the fleets of our enemies, and fighting them when they venture out, be to become tyrants of the seas, then do we merit the appellation. In this kind of tyranny our national safety does and ever must consist. I wish that we may always have a fleet superior to the united fleets of Europe; and I wish, too, that such a fleet may never be used for any purpose beyond or beside the purpose of self-defence. All irritating insolence towards neutral nations, all unprovoked aggression of nations in alliance with us, all jealousy of trade, all monopoly of commerce, all assumption of questionable rights, all enforcement of disputable claims, should even, with such a fleet, be utterly rejected by us.

"We are accused of having established a commercial despotism. I hope the accusation is not just; for I abhor from my heart every species of despotism, civil, religious, and commercial. Despotism consists in the physical exercise of power, without moral right; it is an offence against natural justice; it is a degradation of the dignity of human nature, and ought not on any occasion to be either practised or submitted to. But in what does this imputed commercial despotism consist? Does it consist in this, that our manufacturers are more ingenious and more industrious than the manufacturers of any other country? Is it a violation of the law of nations in us, that our merchants can offer to the inhabitants of Europe, of America, of every quarter of the globe, our woollens, cottons, linens, hardware, pottery, a thousand necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of civil society, without compelling a

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single individual to purchase a single article? Is it commercial despotism in us that we can furnish foreign countries with better goods at a cheaper rate, and with a larger credit than they themselves can either make them or procure them elsewhere? — If this be commercial despotism, I cannot wish to see an end of it; for it excites the emulation, and calls forth the industry of other nations, and thereby turns men's minds from the madness of ambition, and the devastation of warfare, to the cultivation of the arts of peace.

" Our enemy says that he wants ships, colonies, and commerce. Let him build his ships, plant his colonies, extend his commerce; but let him not envy us the possession of ours, nor stigmatise us as tyrants of the seas, because we defend what we possess. The earth is not half inhabited, the part which is inhabited is not half civilised, the part which is civilised is not half cultivated; there is room enough for the agricultural industry, scope enough for the commercial enterprise, employment enough for the manufacturing skill of France, and of all other nations as well as of our own. I have no fear for the commerce of Great Britain, though we should suffer other nations to participate in the wealth to be derived from commerce, though we should allow to the utmost extent, which could in time of war be reasonably demanded, free bottoms to make free goods.

" Buonaparte says in the face of Europe that he wishes for peace, and I am disposed to credit his assertions; for inordinate as his ambition is, it is regulated by his interest, and his interest clearly consists in the stability of his usurpation, — and the only visible bar to that stability is the war with Great Britain.

" Ambition is the characteristic of a vigorous mind: it then

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only becomes a vice when the means it uses or the end it pursues are unjust.

" Were I in the place of the Bishop of Autun, I should think that I atoned for half my sins, did I at length point out to this extraordinary man the road to real glory; did I say to him, — Of military achievement and martial glory, you have had enough to enable you to sustain a proud comparison, if not with the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Tamerlanes, of ancient story, certainly with the Peters, the Charles's, the Fredericks, of more modern times: there is a species of glory now within your reach, by which you would surpass them all; it consists in the magnanimity of moderation. Would you now restore the throne of France to its lawful owner, under such limitations of regal power as would secure the liberty and happiness of his people; would you now establish among the continental states you have conquered such a civil constitution as might put an end to the recurrence of war, by extinguishing as they arose the first sparks of dissension among them; would you now like Washington return to a private station; you would merit and you would obtain real glory, the approbation of the good and wise. Instead of the execration, you would be blessed with the applause of the present, and the admiration of all future ages. May God touch your heart with this sentiment, and, touching it, forgive all your transgressions!

" I presume not to give advice in this crisis of our destiny, and in fact I have none to give different from what I gave five years ago, in a publication (intended speech) respecting four important points; if to these I could add a fifth, it would be, to enter as speedily as possible into an alliance, cordial, sincere, offensive, and defensive with America. — Pardon, my dear Lord,

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the trouble I have given you, and accept the best wishes on all occasions, of

"Your faithful and affectionate servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

In the course of this session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved thereto by a benevolent intention, but with little knowledge of the subject, introduced into the House of Commons a Bill — "For making more effectual provision for the maintenance of stipendiary curates in England (including Wales), and for their residence on their cures." Thinking this bill to be wholly inadequate to the purpose of effecting that reform in the church which I had long judged necessary, I sent the two following letters. It was not, in truth, without great reluctance that I interfered in this business; for I was not insensible that I had been injured by the unmerited proscription of the court for six-and-twenty years.

Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, May 18. 1808.

"My Lord Archbishop,

"UNDERSTANDING that a bill is now pending in parliament respecting a material change in the Church-Establishment, and not finding it convenient to come to London this year, I will trouble Your Grace with a short letter on the occasion.

"Long before I was a bishop I entertained a deliberate opinion that some things respecting the discipline, some respecting the doctrine, and some respecting the distribution of the revenues of the church, might be innovated with great advantage to religion, and with perfect safety to the establishment. I gave to the public

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my sentiments, on the last of these points, in a letter to the then Archbishop of Canterbury; and I have not, during the twenty-six years that I have been Bishop of Landaff, seen any reason to alter my opinion.

"I know that I have been represented as a dangerous man, and eager for reform. This neither is, or ever was, any part of my character. I scorn, indeed, to be held back by any prospects of interest from declaring my real sentiments on any subject of policy or religion; but I am satisfied with having done that, and willingly concede to others that liberty of judging which I claim for myself. Having said this, I trust Your Grace will pardon my stating my opinion on the present subject, though it should chance to be different from your own.

"I am not then of opinion that it is either for the honour of the bench, or for the stability of the Church-Establishment, or the good of the state, that the present bill, respecting stipendiary curates, should pass into a law. I will not enlarge on any of these heads, but mention what I think to be a great error, both in the new Residence-Bill of Sir William Scott, and in this Bill.

"The two gentlemen who planned these bills have, I am persuaded, the best intentions towards the church, but they have erred in having had recourse to palliatives in a case where a radical cure was required.

"The logical maxim, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*, is applicable to the non-residence of the clergy and to the poverty of stipendiary curates. The principal cause of both these evils is the allowing the clergy to hold more livings than one. Take away pluralities, and there will be few stipendiary curates. Build at the public expense parsonage-houses, and there will be few non-resident

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clergy. If it be not thought right to build parsonage-houses at the public expense, let the livings, where houses are wanted, be sequestered, both in this country and in Ireland, as they become vacant; and with the aid of Queen Anne's bounty, in addition to the monies arising from the sequestrations, let parsonage-houses be provided at the expense of the church itself.

" Pluralities are become necessary on account of the poverty of the greatest part of the parish-churches and chapels. This poverty arises from the appropriations and the impropriations which were improvidently granted at the Reformation, but which ought not now to be disturbed. What is wanted to make up the small benefices to at least 100*l.* a-year, must be supplied from the public grants.

" A petition was exhibited to the parliament and Cromwell for the taking away of tithes, in 1652: in the answer to this petition it is said, — There are in England and Wales 9725 parishes, and though one-half of those rectories were not appropriated as to the number, yet certainly as to the yearly values, the ministers, at this day, have not one-half of the profits of corn and grain. I could produce many other proofs of the inadequacy of the maintenance provided for the parochial clergy, and show how much the ancient provision for them is now consumed in other ways, and as matters stand, not improperly consumed; and I cannot help thinking that the provision of two thousand a-year, which I possess from the church, is a case full in point.

" It arises from the tithes of two churches in Shropshire, of two in Leicestershire, of two in my diocese, of three in Huntingdonshire, on all of which I have resident curates; of five more as appropriations to the bishopric, and of two more in the Isle of Ely, as appropriations to the archdeaconry of Ely. I mention not

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this as a matter of complaint, but as a proof how little palliations will avail in amending the situation of the stipendiary curates.

" I have the honour, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

I wrote also, June 21st, to Mr. Percival, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had introduced this Bill, the following note: —

" Sir,

" THE Stipendiary Curates' Bill is so far advanced that any observations which I could make respecting it could not now be of use; and I know the value of your time too well to think of wasting it in unserviceable discussions.

" You will pardon me, I hope, for saying that I do not expect much beneficial consequence from what you have taken the most laudable pains in bringing forward; because the number of livings above 400*l.* a-year, compared with the number below that sum, is very small indeed; and the number of non-resident clergy on such livings is still less than the number of the livings themselves.

" To Sir William Scott and yourself the country is much indebted for your endeavours to remedy a great evil; but the evil I think is too great to be remedied by palliatives. In an appendix to my volumes of Sermons and Tracts, published by Cadell in 1788, there are some observations on this subject.

" I am ashamed to make this reference; but a sincere wish to give, in any shape, my poor assistance towards effecting an ecclesiastical reform, must be my excuse.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

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This Bill was passed by the House of Commons; but on the third reading (June 30.) was rejected, without a division, by the Lords, notwithstanding its being then supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, June 28. 1808, on his having sent me a very valuable Book.

" My dear Lord Duke,

" I SIT down to thank Your Grace for your kind attention in sending me *The improved Version of the New Testament.* I have looked into it with care, and have met with in it what I expected, and what, indeed, must ever accompany all translations, many places in which the sense of the original author still remains ambiguous. Murphy's translation of Tacitus differs from Gordon's, though both these writers were free from the bias of pre-conceived opinions, which must almost necessarily occupy the minds of translators of the New Testament.

" I will give only one instance of this in the present work, though, strictly speaking, it is an instance rather of what some will think a wrong interpretation than of a wrong translation: it occurs in Matt. xi. 27.: — " *No one knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son.*" Wakefield's translation is: — " No one can acknowledge the Son but the Father, &c.;" for which the text gives no authority. This translation is rejected both by Newcome and by the authors of the improved version; but these latter have added an explanatory note. The meaning is, that no one but the Father can fully comprehend the subject and extent of the Son's commission;

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and no one but the Son comprehends the counsels and designs of the Father, with respect to the instruction and reformation of mankind. I do not take upon me to say, that this is a wrong interpretation of our Saviour's meaning, when he spoke the words, "No one knoweth, &c." Nor if any one should, instead of the *instruction* and *reformation*, have said the *salvation* and *redemption* of mankind, durst I have said that his interpretation had been erroneous. The parallel place in Luke, x. 22. stands thus: — "*No one knoweth who the Son* IS *but the Father, and who the Father* IS *but the Son.*" If any one should contend from these expressions, that no one but the Father and the Son is capable of comprehending the nature of the *sonship* of the one, or the *paternity* of the other, I durst not have said that his interpretation of Luke had been a bad one.

"The fact is, that I was early in life accustomed to mathematical discussion, and the certainty attending it; and not meeting with that certainty in the science of metaphysics, of natural or revealed religion, I have an habitual tendency to an hesitation of judgment, rather than to a peremptory decision on many points. But I pray God to pardon this my wavering in less essential points, since it proceeds not from any immoral propensity, and is attended by a firm belief of a resurrection and a future state of retribution, as described in the Gospels.

"I give due praise to the Committee for their introduction to this work; it is written with the sincerity becoming a Christian, and with the erudition becoming a translator and a commentator on so important a book. I am happy to find that the name of the Duke of Grafton is mentioned as it ought to be in the intro-

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duction: His Grace's distinguished patronage of Griesbach is properly estimated by the present age, and it will still be more highly estimated by posterity.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Dr. Falconer, on his sending me his Observations on the Words which the Centurion uttered at the Crucifixion of Christ.

" My dear Sir, July 12. 1808.

" I thank you for your criticism, which is ingenious, and to many will be convincing. The Roman soldiers who attended the crucifixion had probably heard how tauntingly the great men of the Jews had mocked Jesus as he hung upon the cross, for having said Θευ ειμι υιος; and being frightened by the earthquake, they boldly, and perhaps in the hearing of the Jews, contradicted their accusation of Jesus being a blasphemer, and declared that αληθως Θευ υιος ην ὑ]ος, hoping it may be to atone, as it were, by this declaration, for the insults which they themselves had offered him.

" Whether the Roman Centurion and the Jewish High Priest annexed the same ideas to the words Θευ υιος must ever remain, I think, amongst the harmless *dubia Evangelica* which occur in many parts of Scripture. Pilate indeed knew, that by υιος Θευ the Jews understood Χρι]ος, and the Roman Centurion may have known as much of Jewish theology as Pilate did; for all Roman centurions were not so ignorant and incurious as Persius describes them generally to have been, when he says: —

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" Hic aliquis de gente hircosa centurionum
Dicat: quod satis est sapio mihi; non ego curo
Esse quod Arcesilas ærumnosique Solones."

" Yet I am not disposed to give as much weight to the testimony of the Centurion as Dr. Sherlock seems to have done.

" As to the word δικαιος, it is applied to Joseph; δικαιος ων to Zacharius and his wife, and to Simeon; to Noah, ανθρωπος δικαιος τελειος ων, to so many persons, and on such a variety of occasions, that I cannot help thinking, that the Centurion, when he applied it to Jesus, had no particular reference to his *divine* character or nature, but merely to his being a good man, in testimony of whose goodness God had so miraculously interfered.

" To a mind less liberal than your own, I should not have ventured to write so freely; but I know you expect this from me, who am with sincerity and real respect,

" Your obliged servant,

" R. Landaff."

The Duke of Grafton, to whom I had signified my intention of not going to London, on account of the expense attending the journey, kindly pressed me, on private and public grounds, to reconsider the matter. In my letter to him, December 14th, 1808, after thanking him for his attention, I added: — " I allow my eldest son 700*l.* a-year, and I intend to make up to him the difference between his half-pay and his full pay. I trouble you with these particulars, because I am anxious that you should approve my conduct; and I have no doubt of your thinking I discharge a father's duty better, in supporting the spirits of a son depressed

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by declining health, and in administering to the comforts of himself and his family, by supplying to him the loss of income which his misfortune has occasioned, than by indulging myself in a journey to London. Notwithstanding this, I feel and adopt the sentiment of Cicero, in preferring the love of my country to every other connection; and if there was any probability of my advice being attended to in this crisis of our destiny, I would take my seat; but I five years ago publicly declared my opinion on four measures essential, as appeared to me, to our safety as a nation. Had any one of these measures been taken up by any administration, we should have been in a less perilous situation than we now are; had all of them been brought forward, we might have withstood the united attack of all Europe. We should now have had an addition to the regular army of 250,000 young men, instructed in the use of arms; our debt would have been discharged; the Catholics in Ireland would have been cordially attached to us; the Dissenters in England would have had no just cause of complaint. It is the part of an honest man, who meddles at all in public concerns, openly and fearlessly to deliver his sentiments; but he becomes a self-sufficient man, if he does not patiently acquiesce in their being overlooked."

Letter to Lord Hawkesbury, December 18. 1808.

" My Lord,

" Though I have for several years lived a retired rather than a public life, indifferent to the coalitions of parties, rather than attached to any of them, yet have I never been indifferent to the public welfare, or inattentive (as occasion offered) to the means

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of promoting it either in church or state. An occasion now prompts me to trouble Your Lordship with a suggestion or two on a weighty subject.

" The account of the number of livings in England and Wales, not exceeding in value 150*l.* a-year, which, at Your Lordship's instance, the Bishops are now preparing to lay before the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, has excited a general expectation, that it is in the contemplation of Government to augment such livings to that sum. If this expectation is well-founded, I submit to your consideration the utility and the *practicability* of making such augmentation instrumental in improving, what some have loudly called for, — the education of the children of the lower classes.

" My opinion, indeed, on that subject, does not extend so far as that of some other men, perhaps not so far as that of Your Lordship. I venture, however, to give it, as extracted from a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when about this time last year I sent him an account of the schools in my diocese: — ' I think that the education of the children of the poor is a matter well worthy the consideration of Government, inasmuch as a proper education of the lower classes is amongst them, as amongst all others, the parent of piety and of good morals. But I think, at the same time, that an education suited to the circumstances and situation of the poor, is in very few, if in any parts of Great Britain, so neglected, as to require the interposition of the legislature to compel a general amendment of it. It is computed, that there are nine births to two marriages. Now, there are very few parents, comparatively speaking, among the peasants or manufacturers of the country, who cannot spare from their earn-

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ings three-pence a week for two or three years, for each of their four or five children, for their education; and when they cannot afford even such a pittance for such a purpose, I think so well of mankind as to believe, that it would be voluntarily supplied to them by their richer neighbours, if from their sobriety and industry they appeared to be deserving objects of such benevolence and beneficence.'

"If the small livings were augmented to 100*l.* a-year, and no man in future (for the arrangement should have no retrospect, so as to injure any present possessor,) were permitted to hold two of them, and an additional 50*l.* a-year were given as a stipend to such incumbents as would teach schools, in such parishes and chapelries where schools were wanted, I think few of them would decline availing themselves of an opportunity of eking out a scanty income by an occupation so correspondent to their pastoral function; for surely there can be no impropriety in the minister of a parish becoming the schoolmaster of his parishioners. But if something of this kind should be thought of, would it not admit a deliberation, whether the teaching should be above three days in the week, the other three being left unengaged, not only for the convenience of the clergyman, but for that of the parents of the children, who often want their assistance, small as the assistance of young children may seem, in their domestic concerns, and agricultural operations?

"If it is intended to augment all the small livings to 150*l.* a-year, would it not be proper to begin with the small livings in the patronage of the crown? I consider this part (about one-tenth part of the whole) as a kind of public patronage not liable to be either bought or sold, and open to the expectation of every man

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brought up to the Church. Now as every man must contribute in one way or other to the public purse, from which the augmentation of small livings (if any is made) must be derived, it seems to me reasonable that the augmentation of the crown livings should be first thought of.

" Lay corporations, and lay individuals, possess the patronage of above seven parts out of ten of all the livings in England and Wales. I do not mention this proportion as mathematically accurate, but it is sufficiently so for the inference which I want to draw from the mention of it. Is there either injustice or hardship in expecting that these lay patrons should lighten the public burden by their contributions to the augmentation of their own small livings? Some think that impropriators should be *compelled* to make this contribution; and the arguments which may be used on this point are far from being without weight; but I do not like reviving the obsolete claims, or prosecuting the *doubtful rights of the Church;* but surely they may be induced to come forward, from a sense of their own interest, as well as from a sense of piety. The value of the lay patronage will, in some thousands of instances, be doubled by the augmentation, and individuals may, by a sale of their patronage, immediately convert the public munificence to their own private profit.

" I can form but an uncertain conjecture of the sum which will be wanted for the augmentation of the small livings to 150*l.* a-year; but whether it may exceed or fall short of half a million, it will be so large a sum, that if it is given under the restriction of being laid out in the purchase of land, a reasonable apprehension may be raised, of too much land coming into *mortmain.*

" I heartily beg Your Lordship's pardon for this long intrusion

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on your time: I have made it with reluctance, for I have no wish to pry into the intentions of Government, no curiosity to gratify; and no one can be more sensible than I am, how incessantly your time is and must be occupied in matters of state peculiarly critical and important to the safety of the country.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

In May, 1809, I received a letter from Mr. Davies, to whom I had given the living of Bishopston, informing me, that he had dedicated his work, "The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids," to me.

I sent the following answer: —

"Rev. Sir, Calgarth Park, May 24. 1809.

"I ACCEPT with pleasure the dedication, but I have not the vanity to believe that the public will concur with you in the encomium with which you have been pleased to adorn my character.

"I received your book last night, and am persuaded that I shall peruse it with singular satisfaction; for though I make no pretensions to much knowledge in the subjects of which it treats, yet I have always been interested in Bochart's Phaleg, in Huett's Demonstration, in Bryant's Mythology, and in such other books as tend to establish a *common origin of mankind*, and the fact of an *universal deluge*.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

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Having been applied to for my subscription to the erection of a statue to the memory of Mr. Locke, which had been projected by certain respectable individuals in London, I sent to Mr. Harvey Mortimer, at the Literary Fund, Gerard Street, the subjoined letter: —

"Sir,

"Mr. Locke has, by his works, erected to himself a monument which will remain, whilst and wherever there shall remain a veneration for revealed religion, or an attachment to the civil liberty of mankind. Notwithstanding this *ære perennius monumentum*, I will contribute my mite of five guineas, towards the erecting one of more perishable materials; because it will convey an intimation to *some* amongst ourselves, and afford a proof to surrounding states, that amid all their corruptions true patriotism and rational religion are still held in the highest estimation by the liberal and enlightened inhabitants of Great Britain.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Before the end of the session (1809), Parliament voted 100,000*l.* a-year in aid of Queen Anne's Bounty, and in June I concluded my Charge to my clergy, in which I had stated what I had written to Lord Hawkesbury, in the following manner: — "I could not repress my anxiety to show you, that though I have never had any place of residence amongst you, nor a church-income sufficient to enable me to attend every year my parliamentary duty, yet have I never slept on my post, or neglected any fair opportunity of promoting that change in the church-esta-

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blishment which I had not recommended many years ago, without due consideration, and which the legislature, I hope, will now finally accomplish. It is a change essential to the comfort and respectability of the greatest part of the parochial clergy, and their respectability is essential to the best interests of religion; and he must be a narrow-minded, short-sighted statesman, who does not see and acknowledge that *national morality*, proceeding from religious *principle*, is essential to the peace, the prosperity, the permanency of this and of every other Christian country. A good beginning of this matter has been lately made in both Houses of Parliament; but if the great expense of the unfortunate war in which we have been so long engaged should hinder the legislature from at present fully, or in the best manner, accomplishing the object under consideration, it will be our duty to rest contented till a more favourable opportunity presents itself; and to rely with confidence on this persuasion, that there is not, perhaps, a single individual in either House of Parliament who is not penetrated with a sincere concern for the hardships of the inferior clergy, and heartily disposed to relieve them."

In the extensive visitation of my diocese, which I made this year, I went over the mountains from Neath to a place where no bishop had ever held a confirmation before, Merthyr Tidvil. In my time, this place had become, from a small village, a great town, containing ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, occupied in the fabrication of iron; and I thought it my duty not only to go to confirm the young people there, but to preach to those who were grown up, that I might, if possible, leave among the inhabitants a good impression in favour of the teachers in the Established

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Church, when compared with those of many of the sectarian congregations into which the people were divided. I was, whilst there, most hospitably entertained and lodged by Mr. Crawshay, one of the most intelligent and opulent iron-masters in Europe. I was delighted with the knowledge I acquired from his conversation, and, in my turn, took the liberty to suggest to him some hints for further improvement in metallurgy, &c. This gentleman, in common with many others, not only of the clergy but of the laity in my diocese, expressed his astonishment at the manner in which I had been neglected by the court; and making an apology for his frankness, told me, with evident concern, that he was sure I should never be translated. With equal frankness I assured him, that I would never ask for a translation; desiring, at the same time, to know the ground of his opinion, he said, that he had been informed by the best authority (which he mentioned), that I was considered by the court as a man of far too independent a spirit for them, and had long been put down in the Queen's Black Book. A few days before this, another gentleman who had dined with me at the visitation at Caerleon, acquainted me, that the King had once made enquiry of him (at the levee) concerning me, and had concluded his inquisition with declaring, that I was an impracticable man. — *Impracticable!!!* I acknowledge the justness of the imputation. I have never surrendered the principles of government which I imbibed in my youth from the works of Mr. Locke, though practised upon by the courtly artifices under which the honour of political consistency usually succumbs; though assailed by the repeated flattery, and dishonoured, as some may think, by the uniform neglect of the King. I have, through the whole course of my life, never scrupled

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avowing my Whig principles and parliamentary independence; and as it is not unnatural for kings to suspect men of meaning more than they are willing to avow, I was not surprised or chagrined by His Majesty's neglect of me. Men in his high situation are peculiarly liable to form wrong judgments of persons in every situation, and more especially of the characters of those whom they rarely meet with in the circles composing their courts; but I can with justice, in 1812, say to the King, what I said to Mr. Cumberland in an unpublished letter, in 1780, before I was a bishop: — "You mistake me, Sir, if you suppose that I have the most distant desire to make the democratical scale of the constitution outweigh the monarchical. Not one jot of the legal prerogative of the crown do I wish to see abolished, not one tittle of the King's influence in the state to be destroyed, except so far as it is extended over the representatives of the people." I pray God that neither of Their Majesties, or any of their posterity, may ever know by experience, that those whom the adulators and intriguers of courts attempt to stigmatise as independent and impracticable men, are the best supporters of a constitutional throne, though the avowed enemies of an unconstitutional influence of the executive over the legislative part of the constitution.

Just before I left the diocese, my host at Merthyr came to bid me farewell at Landaff; and when we parted he took me by the hand, and said, "If ever you have occasion for five or ten thousand pounds, it shall be wholly at your service." I was infinitely surprised at this generous offer, and, returning my most grateful thanks, assured him that I neither was then nor had any apprehension of ever being in want of such a sum. Those who in

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reading this anecdote shall be disposed to attribute Mr. Crawshay's offer to an ostentatious display of his wealth will, in my judgment, do him great wrong: I am convinced, from the abrupt earnestness of his manner, and the eager aspect of his eye, that there was honour and sincerity in what he said to me. As to myself, I was more delighted with this substantial proof of the disinterested approbation of an iron-master, than I should have been with the possession of an archbishoprick acquired by a selfish subserviency to the despotic principles of a court.

Letter to Mr. Hayley, on his sending me the Life of Romney, and informing me of his being married.

" My dear Sir,

" I CERTAINLY shall peruse with great interest your Life of Romney. I had but little acquaintance with him as a man, and there were some traits in his character which had been reported to me, that deterred me from cultivating an intimacy with him. But these matters may probably have been misrepresented to me, and I have always been anxious rather to cover the imbecillities of human nature than to expose them, being conscious of many of my own, which rather shun than challenge the severity of public animadversion. I am relatively, but not absolutely, idle; for I am writing anecdotes of my own life, which I am enabled to do by having, from an early age, been accustomed to keep little memoranda of what I did and thought at the time. These *disjecta membra* will not, when put together, exhibit a poet, but a mere man of prose, whom the court, after his death, will be ashamed to look at, for their unpa-

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ralleled neglect of him. My larches thrive beyond my hopes; and the prospect of their rendering my family as independent in fortune as their father has always been in spirit, lifts me far above any repining at the loss of such honours and emoluments as are in the power of courts to bestow.

"My father was a much older man than you are when I was born: not knowing the age of Mrs. Hayley, I know not whether to expect the blessed fruits of connubial life: but if your *viridis senectus* throws out a sucker, that it may resemble in quality and durability its parent stock, is the hearty wish of

"Your affectionate

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Lord Carysfort, 29th September, 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I DIRECT this to Elton, not knowing where you are; and I am desirous of understanding a little how matters are going on: I have no private reason for making the enquiry, but I tremble for the country, and anxiously wish for a change of measures.

"We are expending the last guinea of the country, and by the ravages of war and disease wasting our population to no purpose whatever. We are obstinately prosecuting the chimerical project of restoring the balance of power in Europe, when every child in politics sees that it is overthrown by the genius of Buonaparte. We are madly aiming at the glory of restoring the equilibrium, without adverting to the probability that our pride will be our ruin.

"Many will applaud the ministers for their activity in making

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a common cause with Spain. *Eventus rerum stultorum est magister.* I do not judge from the event; but from the first I thought that we had not sufficient assurance of the Spaniards being so united among themselves as to wish for our assistance. We mistook the solicitation of a few for the call of the whole; without considering that an insurrection of the common people, unsupported by persons of rank and wealth, seldom ends successfully.

"The expedition to Flushing in the way to Antwerp may, for ought I know, have been well devised; for the destruction of the navy of France is a matter worthy of ministerial attention: why it did not succeed we may know, perhaps, in the next session of Parliament. I pretend not to judge of military arrangements, but I do pretend to judge of the conduct of Government towards America. What! when we have not an ally, not a friend who wishes us well in all Europe, are we so *dementated*, so fitted for destruction, as to make an enemy of America also? Supposing (but not admitting) Mr. Erskine to have exceeded his commission, what an opportunity would that circumstance have afforded us of saying to America,—We wish to live on terms of amity with you, and we will give you this pledge of our sincerity, we will ratify the stipulations made by Mr. Erskine, notwithstanding his having, in some particulars, exceeded his instructions. We are united by nature, let us be united by good-will. America will, for the mutual benefit of the two nations, receive the products of our industry, and Great Britain will, for the mutual benefit of the two nations, protect the commerce of America against the aggression of France and of the world.

"When, my dear Lord, will the Christian world be at peace? I ever hated war, and the occasions of it,—the ambition of princes

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and the avarice of commerce; and, as I grow older, and approach nearer to the period when better principles than avarice or ambition must be every individual's passport to heaven, my aversion for them is increased.

" It is reported of one of the Athenian orators, (of Isocrates, I believe,) that, though he passionately loved his country, he disliked public speaking, and communicated to his compatriots his advice in speeches composed with care by himself, but recited by others. I so far resemble this orator that I passionately love my country, and have communicated to my countrymen, six years ago, in an intended speech, my advice on four points: —

" The annually instructing all the youth of the country in the use of arms. The payment of the national debt. The making a provision for the support of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in England.

" I have a perfect knowledge of the objections which have been made to some of these measures, both by His Majesty and by his ministers, some of whom I consider as wise and some as foolish statesmen; (for though the King can give office, he cannot give that wisdom and experience which constitute a great statesman;) but this knowledge has in no point changed my sentiments as to the expediency, I will say, as to the necessity, of some such measures for our safety as an independent state.

" Let us make peace with Buonaparte: his own interest will secure its permanency; for he wants nothing but peace with us to establish his usurpation. Let the maritime powers of the Continent have no just cause of complaint against us for the use we make of our naval strength; and diminish that of our standing army, by determining to enter no more into continental alliances

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with powers who secretly hate us, and will, in the hour of danger, desert us. Let us depend upon ourselves, trusting, under God, to the magnitude of our trading capital, to the skill and enterprise of our merchants and manufacturers, to the ingenuity of our mechanists, to the uprightness of our dealings with foreign nations; and our commerce will, I am confident, not only not be lessened but augmented. In addition to these measures, let us strenuously set about improving the lands of the united empire, by judiciously expending in that undertaking a sum equal only to that, worse than wasted annually in one year's warfare, and we shall soon be able to raise within ourselves food sufficient for the sustenance of thirty millions of people; and with such a population we shall be able to defend ourselves in our insular situations against the combined attacks of all Europe.

"There have been and there are men in the country with minds enlarged and enlightened enough to entertain and accomplish such great purposes as I have here hinted at; but unfortunately such men are not sought for or confided in.

"I have long ago said that the Continent would soon be divided into three powers, France, Austria, and Russia; but I had not sagacity to foresee that Austria would be so speedily extinguished as she seems to be. France and Russia will parcel between them the Ottoman power: they will soon quarrel about the possession of the spoil, and give opportunity thereby to the minor conquered states to regain a portion of their power and independency.

"My eldest son is now with me. I see no probability of his regaining such firm health as a military life requires, and have advised him to retire from the profession. My other son is also with me, and I mean to keep him at home till I have made him a

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good divine; for I wish him, in going into the church, to be an ornament to it: by that expression I do not mean a pedantic theologue who shall think it for his honour to defend every imperfection of the Establishment, and much less a furious reformer who shall think that every thing is wrong merely because it is established, but a calm and intelligent reasoner, who distrusts the extent of his own talents in all speculative points, and conscientiously endeavours to practise the *agenda* of Christianity, without wishing to compel others to what he esteems a proper profession of its *credenda*.

"I hope to receive from you a good account of yourself and your family, being ever, with sincere regard,

"Yours affectionately,

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to Lord Carysfort, 27th October, 1809.

"This, I trust, will find you all safely arrived at Elton. I am so pleased with the good sense and good language expressed in your letter from Arklow, that I cannot forbear returning you my thanks for it, especially as you have intimated a wish to know my reasons for thinking as I do on a particular point. You were formerly my pupil: in political science, I am willing to believe that you are now become my master; but as long as I live, I shall have a satisfaction in communicating to you my sentiments on every subject, with the same freedom and sincerity which I used towards you above forty years ago.

"I am not wholly ignorant of what are called Maritime Rights of War; but I have long been of opinion, that all wars, maritime

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and continental, have *assumed* rights which cannot be justified by the law of nature. Every conqueror, from Brennus to Buonaparte, silences the complaints of his enemy, and attempts to still the upbraiding of his own conscience, with a code of rights which admits of no contradiction, — *Jus in armis fero.*

" I have always accustomed myself to consider the law of nations, regulating the conduct of independent states towards each other, to be founded on the same principles (*mutatis mutandis*) on which the law of nature, regulating the conduct of independent individuals in a state of nature, is founded.

" Now let A, B, C, denote three men in a state of nature, of whom A has more corn, B more yams, C more fish than he wants. These three men, for their mutual advantage, barter their several commodities among themselves, and live peaceably (for a state of nature is a state of peace) and independently together. On some occasion or other, A and B become enemies, whilst C observes strict neutrality, and offers his fish to each of them. No, says A, you shall not barter your fish with B. No, says B, you shall not barter your fish with A. Thus, both A and B injure C, who, having taken no part, has done no act of injustice, either as a principal or as accessory, to either of them.

" The application of this reasoning to belligerent and neutral states is obvious; and I have some confidence in the justness of it, from observing, that Gronovius, in his notes on Grotius, admits, or rather makes Grotius admit, even a greater latitude of commerce than is here contended for; in explaining Grotius's meaning of the two terms, *commerciorum libertatem*, Gronovius says, in his note: — *Jure gentium licere unicuique merces suas portare ac vendere, ad quos libuerit.* But if by *jura gentium*, we

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understand rights not derived from the principles of the law of nature, but founded on the *usages* of ancient nations, — on the *conventions* (seldom voluntary on both sides) of modern states, — on the *decisions* of civilians, — or on the still more exceptionable altercations of diplomatists, — we shall run a great risk of having no law of nations at all: for admirable is the maxim, *Ubi jus incertum ibi jus nullum;* and what certainly can be expected, when every nation is at liberty to change its usages, to modify its convention, to enlarge the list of articles esteemed contraband of war, till by prohibiting a commerce in corn and in Peruvian bark, it suffers millions of innocent persons to perish by famine or by pestilence.

" So far am I from wishing to see our naval force reduced, that I wish it to become superior to the united naval force of the whole world; but at the same time I must ever wish this superior force to be solely employed for our self-defence, and not for the purpose of enriching ourselves, by shackling the commerce, and damping the industry of other nations.

" In my sermon before the Lords, at the end of the American war, it is said: — " We can supply foreign markets with better goods, at a cheaper rate, and with a longer credit, than our neighbours can do; and these being more just, will therefore be more sure and permanent sources of profit to us, than an arbitrary and precarious monopoly of the trade of half the globe." I am still of opinion, that if the freedom of commerce were established by every nation in the world, the genius, the skill, the industry, the integrity, the capital of our merchants and manufacturers, would secure to Great Britain and Ireland as much commerce as could be carried on by our population.

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" But whether we could with safety open our ports to the commerce of other nations, whilst they kept theirs shut against us, is a question on which I have not thought sufficiently to give an opinion; but were I from my present view of the subject compelled to decide, I should say, No.

" The jubilee business has gone off in this part of the country with no great eclat. The people are disposed to think well, and to speak well of the King personally; but they lament the loss of America, the enormously increased weight of taxation, and the inroads made on the constitution by his ministers. For my own part, I will never suffer the neglect with which I have been insulted, to shake for a moment, in any one particular, my allegiance to His Majesty, or my veneration for the constitution of the country, as settled by the Revolution.

" I have had a slight stroke of paralysis about a month ago, but am quite recovered.

" May every good attend you and yours in this world and the next, is the hearty prayer of

" Your's affectionately,

" R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Hardinge having informed me that he had stimulated Mr. Davies (author of Celtic Researches, &c.) to publish a few pages on Prophecy, and requested that I would permit him to state his opinion in the form of a letter to me, I sent him the following answer: —

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" My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, Nov. 26th, 1809.

" I am recovering from a slight paralytic stroke, which (though it has not deprived me of any intellectual faculty) has, together with an advanced age, rendered me more averse than I used to be to difficult investigation of any kind; and no subject requires greater intellectual energy than the elucidation of prophecy. I shall not, in perusing Mr. Davies's composition, do justice to it; nor have I it in my power to reward his literary exertions as they deserve. I wish him a better patron, and he merits the best. But if these considerations will not change his purpose or your wishes, that he should address his letter to me, I consent at once to a measure which cannot fail of being honourable to me, how useless soever it may be to himself. If you will turn to the contents of the fourth volume of my Collection of Theological Tracts, you will perceive on what a boisterous sea of controversy you have stimulated your friend to launch his bark. I have no doubt that he will steer it with skill and caution to what all honest men aim at — the port of truth.

" I am, &c.

" R. Landaff."

About this time, the Bishop of Durham gave to the clergy of the diocese of Landaff 100*l.* a-year; and I find that I sent him the following note, which I will insert here, that so great a benefaction may never be forgotten: —

" My dear Lord,

" I yesterday received the extract from the deed of trust, and shall order it to be inserted in the book which I have prepared for

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the purpose of annually registering an account of the disposal of your donation.

" The slight paralytic stroke which I had as I was riding in October last, has not yet returned; nor has it left me much cause either in body or in intellect to be alarmed at having had it. Had I been in London this winter, I flatter myself that I should have had the pleasure of concurring with you in parliament; for though I am not afraid of Popery, I am afraid of Pope Buonaparte, and can never consent that the Catholic bishops, when maintained by the state, (as I wish them to be,) should either be recommended, nominated, or confirmed, by any foreign power. I am with constant and sincere esteem,

" Your faithful servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

To Sir John Sinclair, on his having sent for my Perusal and Correction the First Chapter of his Husbandry of Scotland.

" My dear Sir John, Calgarth Park, 26th Jan. 1810.

" In a book entitled 'Practical Tracts on Agriculture and Gardening,' there is a catalogue of above seven hundred English authors who have written on husbandry and subjects relative to it, from the year 1534, when Fitz-Herbert's Husbandry was first published, to 1769, when the catalogue here mentioned was published (I believe) by Mr. Weston.

" Since that period, so numerous have been the publications on agricultural subjects, by private persons and by public bodies, not only in Great Britain, but in every country of the Continent, that it may be said of agriculture, as a science, what was said of

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the Roman history as an empire, and what may be properly (perhaps) said of our own, — *Magnitudine laborat suâ.*

" The subject, however, must be still enlarged, and the publication of individual experiments encouraged, till agriculture, like other branches of physical knowledge, shall, if possible, attain a scientific form; and abound in aphorisms, to be received by practical farmers as established truths. It is not without design that I have said, if possible; because some of the main principles of agriculture, such as seed, soil, manure, culture, climate, weather, &c., though going under the same name, are not so accurately defined, nor so clearly understood, as to produce an identity of results, when similarly used.

" As contributing to this end, I have perused with attention your Husbandry of Scotland, in which there are many things which are new, some which were known before, and some liable to contravention, or at least discussion, but nothing discreditable to yourself, or unbecoming your situation as President of the Board. I particularly admire the enlarged and benevolent views described in your conclusion.

" The attempt which was made a few years ago for a general enclosure of commons failed from a combination of prejudice and ignorance; of unwarrantable prejudice against the proposers of it, and of unpardonable ignorance of the subject. I will not therefore make any proposal, lest a similar fate should attend mine, but I must mention that a peasant within two miles of my house has lately built a cottage on a common, and walled in a small portion of its ground, at an expense equal to ten times the value of the fee-simple of the land. What if legal liberty was given to every man in the kingdom to build a cottage and to enclose as

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far as five acres for a garden and the keeping of a cow, on any common which should be set out for him, under such restrictions and limitations as might be thought proper? But enough of my fancies, though it is no fancy to say, that the strength of a nation depends on its population, and its population on the facility of providing for a progeny.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 28th of March, 1810, I received the following letter from Mr. Harvey Mortimer, dated Literary Fund, Gerard-Street:—

"My Lord,

"I AM desired by the committee for erecting a statue to the memory of Locke, to express to Your Lordship their high admiration of, and grateful acknowledgements for, your letter, which they hope Your Lordship will permit them to publish, as they are satisfied it would contribute very much to the success of the undertaking.

"I have the honour, &c.

"HARVEY MORTIMER."

Answer, 29th March, 1810.

"Sir,

"ALLOW me to request you to assure the committee, that I am far from being insensible to the honour they have done me in approving the letter which was hastily written, when I became a

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subscriber to the statue intended to be erected to the memory of Locke.

" The principles, civil, and religious, of that great man have hitherto influenced, and as long as I live they will continue to influence, my public conduct; but in the precarious state of my health, and at my advanced age, I cannot consent to expose the tranquillity of this retirement to be disturbed by the animadversions which (in these irritable and distempered times) would probably attend the publication of my former letter.

I have no objection to my name appearing in the list of subscribers, and instead of five I wish my subscription to be ten guineas.

I am Sir, your most faithful servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

I wrote in the same month the following note to Lord Grenville, on having read his letter to Lord Fingall: —

" My Lord,

" ALLOW me to express my high approbation of your letter to Lord Fingall. I concur with you in every line of it. The appointment of the Catholic bishops ought to be in the King, if they are to be paid by the state; and if they are to be paid by the Catholics themselves, the appointment ought to be in them, but exclusive of all foreign influence, recommendation, or confirmation. If they do not accede to this, or to something similar to this, they will act on a principle which I did not expect, nor can approve.

" You have in your letter clearly expressed your adherence to the grounds on which you have supported the petition; yet the

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No-Popery men begin to say that you have changed your mind, because they either cannot or will not advert to the change which has taken place in the question itself. I trust, however, to the good sense of the Catholics, in not being hurried by the violence of a few zealots, into decisions contrary to that line of conduct which, with the solid wisdom of a real statesman, you have recommended to them.

" I have not taken my seat, so that I can give no proxy; and yet both on the Catholic question, and on that which Lord Sidmouth has announced his intention of introducing into parliament, I should not be unwilling to give my opinion.

" I am, &c.

" R. LANDAFF."

The distinction I have here made with respect to the appointment of bishops being in the chief magistrate of the state, where a church is established, or in those who, dissenting from the Establishment, pay their bishops or presbyter from their own private property, appears to me to be just, though I am sensible that it will not be admitted as such by all, either Catholics or Protestants.

About the 20th of April, I received from General Staveley a letter from Mr. Whitcombe, accompanying a pamphlet with the following title: " Considerations addressed to the Legislature, upon the Expediency and Policy of authorising the Alienation of Estates belonging to Corporate Bodies, particularly Bishops, and Deans, and Chapters, for the Purpose of raising Money to purchase the unredeemed Land-Tax; and demonstrating the Advantages which would result from such Alienation and Appropriation, both to the

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Church and State. By Samuel Whitcombe, Esq., Serjeants' Inn, Temple."

I sent the subjoined answer to Mr. Whitcombe, whom I did not know, either personally or by character: —

" Sir, Calgarth Park, April 29. 1810.

" I have received and perused with attention the pamphlet which you have sent me through General Staveley, and beg you to return to him and to accept yourself my thanks for the trouble you have respectively taken. I do not see any reason for questioning the accuracy of your calculations; and am fully persuaded that your mind is too enlightened and enlarged for you to wish to promote the benefit of the state at the expense of the church; yet I must own that I have never cordially approved the measure of redeeming the land-tax; nor can I now concur without some reluctance in the scheme you propose of alienating the estates of bishops, and deans, and chapters, (and if theirs, why not of all other corporate bodies?) for the purpose of raising money for the purchasing the yet unredeemed land-tax.

" I do not, in truth, like any plan which has a tendency to make the landholders responsible for the debts due to the stockholders, for such a principle enables ministers to raise money with facility for carrying on of war, often unjust, (like the American war,) and never necessary till negotiation, accompanied with a peaceful disposition, has been tried, and tried in vain.

" You have candidly proposed and anticipated an objection which, however, still sticks with me, of fee-farm rents being an unimprovable property. I had rather give thirty years' purchase

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for an improvable landed property, (and what is called waste land is not the only species capable of improvement,) than twenty-five years' purchase for fee-farm rents. This looks like prejudice; but improvable estates may every where be met with which will pay ten per cent. for the money expended in improvement, and make the whole money laid out in the purchase and subsequent improvement pay six or eight per cent.

"Above forty years ago, I was one of three appointed by the University of Cambridge to go to London, and there to use our best endeavours to oppose a bill, introduced by Mr. Wedderburn into the House of Commons, and read a first time. The bill was permissory, and not compulsory,—recommendatory, not imperative: it allowed colleges to alienate their estates, and thereby to augment their revenues. We waited upon Lord North (the then minister), stating our objections, and though we were calumniated at blowing the trumpet of sedition, the bill was no more heard of. I was appointed by my colleagues to wait upon Lord Rockingham: I did so; and on stating to him that had the estates of Trinity College been in the time of Queen Elizabeth (who gave us our statutes) reduced to money-payments, the present Fellows would have had no more than twenty-pence a-week each for his maintenance, His Lordship gave up the plan at once; and I must be of opinion, that had not the estates of the bishops, &c., which were sold during the usurpation of Cromwell, been restored, the present possessors of those dignities would have had only a scanty and precarious subsistence.

"In 1799, Mr. Pitt had a plan for selling the tithe of the church, on the same principle (of assisting public credit) that the land-tax had been offered for sale in the preceding session of Par-

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liament. I was requested, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to furnish Mr. Pitt with my remarks on the plan. I did as I was desired to do; and, as the plan was not a fixed money-payment, but variable according to the price of grain, I gave it my approbation, not on the principle of its aiding public credit, but on that of its extinguishing animosity between the clergy and their parishioners, and promoting agriculture; at the same time I suggested many considerations which had not been enough or at all attended to, relative to the rights of the clergy on new enclosures, &c. This plan came to nothing. You will permit me to remark that the contingent advantages accruing to the estates of bishops, and deans, and chapters, on the enclosure of waste lands, ought by no means to be overlooked, should your plan be persevered in.

"You properly assume a year and an half rack-rent, being the usual fine for a renewal of seven years in a lease of twenty-one: less than a century ago, the usual fine was one year's rack-rent: by degrees it became one year and a quarter, then one year and an half; but it has not stopped there, for some colleges take two years' full rack-rent for their fine, and they are justified in taking that or even a much larger fine, according to the increase in the quantity of money, or of the representative of money, in the country.

"But I am insensibly sliding into political considerations of great weight, when I only meant to give you a mark of my respect in having not negligently adverted to the pamphlet which you have so obligingly submitted to my perusal.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

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Richard Reece, M. D., had dedicated to me the first edition of his Medical Guide, and in April, 1810, he sent me the seventh edition of it, and requested me to read a few pages (from the 15th to the 19th) of the introduction to the first part, and to favour him with my opinion of it. I sent him the subjoined letter, dated May 12th, 1810:—

"Sir,

"After returning you my best thanks for the present of your book, which I have just received, I must observe that it is not my custom to give an opinion of any book lest I should usurp the province of a reviewer. I have, however, read the pages with pleasure, which you have recommended to my perusal.

"I am not wholly unacquainted with what has been written by various authors on the vibrations of ether, on electrical muscular motions, on animal spirits, on nervous fluids, on irritability, as distinguished from sensibility, and on other theories, which have been formed in different ages and countries, to explain animal physiology; but I own that I have looked upon them all with the suspicion of their being ingenious hypotheses rather than solid truths experimentally established; and you must excuse me if I do not consider your electrical fire excited by and emanated from the brain in any other light.

"I allow the whole of your system to be ingenious, and think that it may be of practical utility in the art of healing; but I despair of ever seeing the question clearly decided, Whether the brain is the efficient or the instrumental cause of sensation?

"We can comprehend how light, entering the pupil of an eye,

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refracted by passing through its humours, and impinging on its bottom, may form a perfect image of an external object, as we see is mechanically done in the camera obscura. We can comprehend how the impulse of a wave of air on the tympanum of the ear may there excite a vibratory motion, as we see is done by a stick impinging the parchment of a drum; but why the man has a perception of sound which the drum has not, or an idea of figure depicted on the choroides or retina of the eye, (which ever of them be the seat of vision,) which the camera has not; in other words, how perception is excited from material impulse, must ever, I think, exceed the apprehension of human intellect. The difficulty is not removed by introducing an immaterial substance, since, as such, we must conceive it to be incapable of either giving or receiving material impulse; but our inability of apprehension ought never to be urged as an argument against the possibility of existence, since we are certain that God is an immaterial substance, and the primary Author of all material impulse existing in the universe.

"Wishing success to your lectures,

"I remain, your faithful and obliged servant,

R. LANDAFF."

The following is a Letter to one of my oldest and most respected friends, Mr. Harrison, who whilst in the House of Commons acquired and deserved the esteem of all honest and independent men, and who had written to me on the subject then in agitation, the imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett: —

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" My dear Harrison, Calgarth Park, June 1. 1810.

" I AM very happy in receiving a good account of Frances and yourself, and think you quite right in looking how the world wears in London, though I do not follow your example, but am content with a monkish apathy, to let the world *vadere sicut vult vadere.*

" I, amongst others, have thought of what is going forwards in the political world, but I despair of any plan being formed to amend the maladies under which we labour.

" The power of acting for the public good in cases not provided for by law is of the very essence of the royal prerogative; and as these cases cannot always be foreseen, the extent of the prerogative cannot on all points be defined.

" The power of expelling a member from the House of Commons is a privilege essential to the constitution of it as an House; but the committing a member, or not a member, to prison, and by military force, for a speech or writing which has not been *found by a jury to be a libel,* is a privilege which I cannot prove to my own satisfaction to be either necessary to the constitution of the House of Commons or useful to the state. What the decision of the present question may be is wholly uncertain. Should it be in support of the Speaker's warrant, I think it ought to be followed by a law prohibiting such violence in future, and defining, as far as can be done, the extent of privilege; for I must ever adhere to the maxim, *Ubi jus incertum ibi jus nullum.*

" As to a reform in the representation, I have never seen any plan calculated to do much good. It was said, I think, by the old Duke of Newcastle, that it was cheaper to buy the elected in the House of Commons than the electors in rotten boroughs.

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"About two months ago I wrote a letter to Lord Grenville; a short one, in truth, but comprehending my plain opinion on the Catholic question. I send you an extract, from which you will rightly infer, that though I am not afraid of Popery, I am afraid of Pope Buonaparte; and I heartily wish that Government were as much afraid of him as I am.

"I have left off riding: walking fatigues me; and I cannot yet submit to an airing in a carriage. Whether it is by Her or by His Majesty that I am laid on the shelf, I do not at all repine at the position; for I can truly say with the philosopher,

"Ici je trouve le bonheur,
Ici je vis sans spectateur;
Dans le silence literaire,
Loin de tout importun jaseur;
Loin des froids discours du vulgaire,
Et des hauts tous de la grandeur."

"But my literary retirement, though it improves my own mind, will not improve the world; for I shall never more attempt to do that either in politics or religion. I have too much respect for public opinion to expose to public animadversion the dregs of life.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

This I believe was the last letter which I ever wrote to Mr. Harrison: he died in February, 1811. I have inserted it in these anecdotes, because I consider it as a circumstance honourable to myself, that I maintained for above half a century a warm friend-

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ship with a man of much public and private worth; and I wish his two surviving daughters to look upon its publication as my tribute of affection to the memory of their father.

Letter to the Duke of Grafton, who thought himself dying.

"My dear Lord Duke, Calgarth Park, July 27. 1810.

"I HAD been meditating for several weeks to trouble you with a letter of enquiry, but hearing occasionally of the amended state of your health I was unwilling to oppress you by a display of unavailing solicitude; your own account, however, of yourself, will not permit me to remain longer silent.

"Attachment to life is not peculiar to the human species; it belongs to all animals, and is necessary to keep them in existence; and by the existence of animal life a large portion of insensate matter becomes to such rational creatures as will consider the subject an irrefragable proof of the goodness of God. I remember that this thought first struck me when (a boy at Cambridge) I was galloping to the Hills, and chanced to observe a skylark singing and mounting in the air. Why, I said to myself, did God animate the lump of earth composing the body of that lark? Doubtless to cause it to rejoice in its existence; and from the same principle he has animated the body of my horse, and the body of myself; and while I have my being I will praise him for this his goodness! Now I see this goodness universally exhibited and constituting one of the most interesting attributes of God — most interesting to percipient beings; for without it knowledge and power, nay omniscience and omnipotence are, as it were, nothing to such beings. When I consider this, I cannot

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listen for a moment to the desponding doctrines of Calvin, of his predecessors, or his successors, in the church of Christ.

"Before I took my Bachelor of Arts' degree, I had learned indeed my catechism, as other boys do; but I had never thought either of the truth of the Christian religion, or of the nature of the doctrines contained in it. My mind being after my degree liberated from the severity of mathematical studies, expanded itself and ranged into other fields of knowledge without control: I thought freely on religious subjects; and I found nothing in revealed religion which in any degree lessened the natural notion I had formed respecting the Divine goodness, but many things to confirm and enlarge it. I found, in truth, and lamented to find, in all Christian churches, a tendency to become wise above what was written, to require *certain* assent to *doubtful* propositions, to explain modes of existence which cannot be explained to beings with our faculties, and to mould the ineffable attributes of God according to the model of human imperfection. The doing of this I considered as (if the expression may be allowed) anthropomorphitising in the worst sense the incomprehensible Author of Nature, and had always been averse from interpreting, in a strict literal sense, such passages of Scripture as attribute to him the parts and passions, the corporeal and intellectual properties and imperfections of a man.

"Why should we be disturbed by gloomy apprehensions of death, since he who made us can and will, even in death, preserve us? Unless we cease to love him, (which neither you nor I can, I trust, ever do,) he will not cease to love us: the human race, in falling from their first estate, did not fall from the love of God. Are we not assured, that 'God so loved the world' (even

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in its fallen state — that world which some, even good men, represent as a mass of corruption vitiated to the very core, and doomed before its existence to everlasting, not merely perdition, but punishment,) 'that he gave his only begotten Son, that every one who believeth in him may not perish but have everlasting life?' John, iii. 16.

"It may be worth while to peruse a short book of Bishop Law's, printed in his Theory of Religion, under the title of 'The Nature and End of Death under the Christian Covenant.' For though the eye of reason cannot penetrate the recesses of the grave, though the light of Revelation hath not, perhaps cannot, make it *appear what we shall be;* yet a due reflection on the necessity of dying, accompanied with the blessed hope of being raised from the dead, and of ascending a step in the gradation of intellectual existence, may make us expect with composure and comfort the inevitable change; when we shall become like the angels of God, immortal, placed, it may be, in the lowest rank of angelic beings, but neither debarred the means nor deprived of the hope of rising to the highest.

"I am, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Letter to a Friend who had intimated to me his Expectation of seeing me in London, on the Chance of a Regency taking place.

"My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, Dec. 17. 1810.

"I THINK very highly of Mr. Davies's ability, and consider his preface as containing sentiments founded in truth, in my opinion, and honourable to himself, but not as new. Mr. Locke, the Re-

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monstrants in Holland, and thousands in England, arguing for the right of private judgment, in scriptural interpretation, have frequently and forcibly maintained the same. The fact is, that my mathematical education has quite spoiled my taste for doubtful disputations in other sciences. The *reciprocatio serræ controversiæ* in theology is always grating to my ears, and often leaves me as diffident of having attained truth on any controverted subject, as if I had been in my youth a disciple of Carneades, or of any other doctor of the *old* or *new* academy.

"Your expectations of seeing me in London, on the supposition of a regency being formed, are not well founded. At my time of life I will not debase the character which I have through life endeavoured to establish, by soliciting promotion either from a Regent or a King; nor am I certain (if I could stoop to such meanness) that I should ever become acceptable at St. James's. Courts were not made for me, nor am I made for courts; but I love my country, and could I assist in its councils, infirm as I am, I would take my seat in the House of Lords, which I have not yet done.

"It is now above seven years since I gave to the court my advice (in an intended speech) on four points of the greatest importance: had the first of these been *then* adopted, we should have had at this moment 350,000 young men instructed in the use of arms in addition to our regular troops; had all of them been brought forward, we should not only have put out of peril our own independence, but secured that of the continent of Europe.

"The time, I fear, is fast approaching when every man will say to his neighbour, *Cedo qui nostram rempublicam tantam amisi-*

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mus tam cito? The *proveniebant oratores novi, stulti, adolescentuli,* will constitute the principal part of the answer.

" Your faithful and affectionate friend and servant,

" R. LANDAFF."

The following is the last letter which I wrote to my friend the Duke of Grafton, who died on the 14th of the following March: —

" My dear Lord Duke,

" THOUGH I know not how to attempt to console you for the loss of our common friends, Mr. Smyth and Mr. Harrison, yet I cannot forbear troubling Your Grace, lest such an omission on such an occasion should indicate an indifference which I am incapable of feeling towards yourself.

" Lady Augusta, I hope, will have the goodness to gratify my anxiety about your own health, as I have been informed that you have not lately been so stout as you were some months ago. But whence is it, my good friend, that I speak of anxiety, since I feel a strong confidence, (an humble, I trust, and not a presumptuous confidence,) that men like ourselves will be proper objects of God's mercy, and obtain that eternal life which he hath promised through Jesus Christ, to all who love and fear him.

" This is not the language of self-justifying sinners; it is the language of men who believe the Gospel, and who in great self-abasement venerate the adorable and inscrutable cause of every thing. I am, with affectionate concern for Your Grace's health and spirits,

" R. LANDAFF."

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Letter to the Duke of Grafton, April 1. 1810.

" My dear Lord Duke,

" A LETTER by this post from the executors of your late father has afforded me a satisfaction which I thought it impossible for me to have received from any circumstance attending the loss of so excellent a friend. They have informed me that in a codicil to his will, dated June 24th, 1807, in his own hand-writing, he has left me, as a token of his friendship, his *Complutensian Polyglott.* Tokens of a friendship of forty years standing are equally honourable to those who give and to those who receive them, and to me they are invaluable; for the great ambition of my life has been to deserve well of those who have known me best.

" Be so good as to take an opportunity of thanking in my name the excutors, for the very obliging manner in which they have signified to me this intelligence; and, that I may occasion them no more trouble, I will tell Faulder to forward the books to me, whenever they may be left at his shop.

" Lord Muncaster was formerly much acquainted with your father. He sent me the other day a letter of condolence: you will be pleased with reading the following extract from it: — ' In ' former days I had the honour to have frequent communication ' with the Duke of Grafton, and I owe it to his memory to say, ' that a man of higher honour and more excellent principle and ' character I have never met with in my walks through life.'

" I could not neglect so fair an opportunity of establishing and enlarging Lord Muncaster's good opinion of the character of my departed friend, I therefore immediately wrote to him the annexed letter: —

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" ' My dear Lord,

" ' We have read of a philosopher or of an hero of antiquity, ' I do not now remember which, who, on being informed that he ' had lost both his sons in one battle, replied, " I knew that I ' begat them mortal." I cannot but admire the stoical firmness ' of this reply, yet I must believe that the glistening of the eye, ' and the faltering of the voice of him who uttered it, showed, at ' the moment, that the sympathetic affections of nature overcame ' the misplaced efforts of vanity.

" ' Sensibility, and the want of it, may both of them become ' culpable by their excess. I feel, I hope, as I ought to do, the ' recent loss of the Duke of Grafton, of Harrison, Crowle, ' Smyth, and Maskelyne: above twenty years ago I lost almost ' at once an equal number of my oldest and best friends. What ' do all these sad losses teach us? They ought to teach us so ' to live that we may contemplate with tranquillity the time (fast ' approaching to us all) when our few remaining friends will ' embalm our memory with a transient sentiment of regret; ' transient, because accompanied with an hope that we have con- ' scientiously, however imperfectly, laboured to fight a good fight, ' to obtain the high prize of Christian warfare which God hath ' promised by his Son, — everlasting life.

" ' I most heartily concur with you in your honourable testi- ' mony to the character of the Duke of Grafton, and I will tran- ' scribe a letter now in my possession which I very unexpectedly ' received from him thirteen years ago, in confirmation of the ' correctness of the judgment we have severally formed of our ' late friend's character: —

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" ' My dear Lord, Piccadilly, March 15. 1798.

" ' It will appear extraordinary, and perhaps to many incredible, that, considering the intimate friendship in which I am so fortunate as to live with Your Lordship, I should have printed any thing without your having previously seen it in any way.

" ' It is not meant for publication, but chiefly for the inspection of my own family, and likewise for my own justification. When I put it into your hands, I am sensible that you cannot agree with or approve most of the essential parts of it, though you will tolerate every person who, in the sincerity of his heart, ventures to make use of private judgment in a conscientious search after truth.

" ' I ever remain, my dear Lord,

" ' Your Lordship's most faithful friend and servant,

" ' GRAFTON.

" ' An 8vo pamphlet of eighty-two pages, entitled " The serious Reflections of a rational Christian, written down at different times from 1788 to 1797," accompanied this letter. If it should ever be published, Christians of every denomination will admire, and, I hope, adopt in their own practice, the sincerity, humility, and piety of the author of it, apparent in the following extract from the 11th page: — " If I am in any error, and under any mistake in these sentiments, I earnestly beg of Almighty God that I may be convinced of it, and that he will pardon in me my ignorance, and that he will enlighten my understanding by his Holy Spirit, and lead me into the

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'way of truth, establishing me in the same more and more every 'day."

" 'I am, &c.

" 'R. LANDAFF.'

" Adieu, my dear Lord Duke, and for the rest of my life, be it long or short, I beg you to consider me as

" Your ever affectionate friend,

" R. LANDAFF."

On the 30th of the same month, a paralytic stroke deprived me in a great measure of the use of my right hand; but my understanding not being affected thereby, and the Bishop of Lincoln having published about that time his " Refutation of Calvinism," I sent him the following letter: —

" My dear Lord, Calgarth Park, 17th May, 1811.

" BEING at present unable to write legibly, I make use of the hand of my son to signify to Your Lordship the great satisfaction which I have received from the perusal of your late work, and to congratulate you on the general approbation which it so justly merits, and will certainly meet with.

" In saying this, I do not mean to say that I agree with you on every point; but in what I differ from you I have rather a suspended than a decided judgment, and am far from dogmatically contending that I am right and you are wrong.

" I agree with you most cordially on the two main points; that the doctrines of Calvinism are not the doctrines of Scripture, nor were maintained by the most ancient fathers of the church.

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In the stream of antiquity, (as Whitby has said in his preface to his discourses concerning the "Five Points,") we see only one, St. Austin, with his two boatswains, Prosper and Fulgentius, tugging hard against it, and often driven back into it by the strong current of Scripture, reason, and of common sense.

"I am, my dear Lord,

"Your faithful and obliged brother,

"R. LANDAFF."

In September I received a letter from Dr. Marsh, (Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge,) enclosing a prospectus of an intended national society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church, and requesting to know whether I would assist in the *promotion* and *guidance* of such society. Though I was much afraid of reviving religious controversy, and thought the Established Church in no danger, I sent the following answer:—

"Mr. Professor, Calgarth Park, 27th Sept. 1811.

"I WILL not lose a post in returning an answer to your obliging letter of the 21st instant. I therefore, without hesitation, signify to you my consent to assist in the *promotion* and *guidance* of the intended society in every way which shall appear to me to be consistent with a due regard to the rights of other men.

"Though I have through life been of opinion that some changes (I think them improvements) in the doctrine and discipline of our ecclesiastical establishment might be very safely and very properly made, yet I hold it, with all its real or supposed imperfections, to be wholly deserving of protection and support.

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"Knowing from what slender beginnings great mischiefs frequently arise, and with what pertinacity men generally adhere to parties and principles once adopted, I cannot refrain from expressing an hope that the names of Bell and Lancaster may never become occasions of disunion and disesteem between Churchmen and Dissenters, but that by a friendly concurrence they may unite their great abilities in giving to the children of the poor a Christian education. I have purposely said a Christian education, because though I approve the professed liberality of Mr. Lancaster's system, and esteem him to be perfectly sincere and well-meaning in his undertaking, yet thinking it impossible that the human mind can long remain a *rasa tabula* with respect to religion, I wish it to be early impressed with the principles of the Christian religion, as far superior to the philosophy of ancient or the theism of modern times, as a rule of moral conduct.

"I am, with the greatest esteem and good wishes,

"Your faithful servant,

"R. Landaff."

The following is a letter to Lord Carysfort, who had informed me that he had been writing what he called his creed. I had desired him to send it to me, promising at the same time to consider it with my most serious attention.

"My dear Lord, Calgarth Park, 30th Sept. 1811.

"When you mentioned to me your *creed*, I had no expectation of your sending to me such lucubrations as I have received from you. They are very honourable to the industry and ability of their author, and I have known the time when I should with

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pleasure, and perhaps with profit to us both, have returned you my animadversions on every page, for in every page I have met with matter not for censure but discussion.

" But neither will my failing eye-sight enable me to read with accuracy your manuscript, nor will my failing intellect enable me as I could wish to penetrate the marrow of the great subjects you have handled.

" Many years ago I perused Bochart's Phaleg, the President de Goguet's Origin of Laws, &c., Burnet's Archæologia Philosophica, and many other books on subjects greatly similar to those on which you have so ably tried your strength; but I dare not, in my present condition, again venture to launch out on an ocean replete with curious objects of research, but with little except conjecture and assumption to direct our course. I may say, as Burnet has said of himself in the conclusion of his preface to the Archæology, ' *Ingruit senectus appropinquat mors, et melioris* ' *ævi dies cum hæc clarius elucebunt. Juvat interea tenue ali-* ' *quod monumentum reliquisse, vitæ non otiose peractæ, et brevi* ' *quasi functum militia deinceps à laboribus requiescere.*' The *tenue monumentum* of my theological labour, which the public has so kindly noticed, would have been much enlarged had not my mind been diverted from literary to agricultural pursuits, as an honourable mean of providing moderately for a large family.

" On being compelled to seek health in the retirement of a country life, I planned a series of Theological Essays on the most important subjects; not with a view of shoving up any tottering edifice of Calvinistic or Arminian, of Episcopalian or Dissenting Divinity, and much less with a view of emulating what I could not reach, the industry and ingenuity of Frederic Spanheim, in removing all *Dubia Evangelica*; but with an humble hope of

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removing some of the hay, straw, stubble with which scholastic subtlety, combined with dogmatical intolerance, had in every country, and in every age, obstructed the road to Evangelical truth and Christian charity. I had made some progress in the execution of this plan; but now despairing of being able to finish it to my satisfaction, and being unwilling that the world should say, the Theological Essays smell strong of the apoplexy, I have treated my divinity as I twenty-five years ago treated my chemical papers; I have lighted my fire with the labour of a great portion of my life.

"I write partly to apologise for my not giving to your work all the attention which I wished to bestow upon it, and principally to advertise you of the second part having come to hand. How am I to return both the parts, when I have kept them a little longer? I can send them by Mr. Wilson when he comes to town, if you do not wish them to be returned sooner. I shall write again as soon as I have leisure; but in the course of next month, I have promised to make two maidens happy, by uniting them to their respective mates, Lord Lindsay and Lieutenant-Colonel Smyth.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"R. Landaff."

Letter to Professor Vince, January 3d, 1812.

"Mr. Professor,

"When I made the late Astronomer Royal a Doctor of Divinity, I remember having whispered in his ear the following question:—

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"'Abstracting from the loss of the sun's substance by the emanation of light, is there any cause why the solar system may not last for ever?'

"Accidentally reading the other day a book entitled 'Observations on the Liturgy,' printed by Debret, 1789, I met with the following note:—'The late discovery of the Prussian astronomer Euler, that the earth in every revolution, narrows its orbit, and draws nearer to the sun, and consequently will, in a course of years, come within its vortex, and be consumed by it.' You, I am sensible, have written so well on the disturbing forces prevailing in the planetary system, that I can apply to no one so likely to inform me to what it is that Euler attributes the diminution of the earth's orbit, and whether it is a constant diminution, or contained within certain limits. I beg pardon for this intrusion on your time, but I have not Euler's works in this retirement.

"I should have been happy to have directed this letter to you as Astronomer Royal.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

Dr. Vince favoured me with an intelligent and complete answer to my enquiry, by informing me, that he remembered Euler's hypothesis of the planets moving in an etherial fluid, which gradually retarding their motions, would at length carry them to the sun, but that the *existence* of such a fluid was a mere conjecture; that there were no irregularities, (as they were called,) in the system; that nothing went on continually increasing or decreasing, so as to bring on destruction to the system; but that any other law of gravitation than the inverse square of the distance,

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would have brought destruction to it; that we are principally indebted for these important discoveries to Le Grange and De La Place; and that Sir I. Newton himself did not see the extent to which his theory of gravitation would carry him; for he thought the system would occasionally want a renovation. I returned thanks in the following letter: —

"Mr. Professor, Calgarth Park, Jan. 27. 1812.

"I CANNOT forbear troubling you with my thanks for your letter, which is perfectly satisfactory in all its parts. I remember having somewhere read a Dissertation, (when I was Professor of Chemistry,) to prove, that the light emanated by the sun was reabsorbed into his substance: however that may be, every Christian philosopher ought to set the highest value upon your confutation of Atheism from the laws of gravitation. I am, with every good wish for your prosperity,

"Your obliged servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

On the 26th February, 1812, Sir Henry Moncrief Wellwood wrote to me from Edinburgh, saying, that he had lately preached a sermon for the benefit of a Lancasterian school established in that city, and requesting my permission to dedicate it to me.

Though I had determined to take no part in the controversy then raging about the schools of Bell and Lancaster, thinking them both useful, I sent him the following answer: —

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"My dear Sir, Calgarth Park, 28th Feb. 1812.

"I accept, with real satisfaction, the honour you intend me. It is now near sixty years since I heard, in the Divinity Schools, at Cambridge, a public disputation between Doctors Powell and Rutherforth, on the following question, which had been proposed by the former as an exercise for his Doctor's Degree: — *Ecclesiastici regiminis in Anglia et in Scotia constituti neutra forma aut juri hominum naturali aut verbo Dei repugnat?* This question was then so acutely and liberally discussed, that an impression was then made on my young mind, which has produced in me, through life, not only a great respect for the Church of Scotland, but great moderation towards Dissenters of every denomination. This uniform tenour of a long life has been injurious to my temporal interests; but if it has in any degree contributed to produce or to confirm a spirit of mutual forbearance and good-will among Christians, I shall have reason to console myself with the reflection, that I have not lived in vain.

"I am, &c.

"R. Landaff."

On the 23d of March, 1812, I received a letter from Sir John Cox Hippesley, together with a publication of his on the Catholic Question, expressing his wishes that my health would permit me to attend the discussion of that question in the House of Lords; and flattering me with saying, that I had done more than any other person on that head, by having early given courage to those who followed me, to declare manfully their sentiments. I sent him the following answer:

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" Sir, March 29th, 1812.

" I think myself much honoured by your kind attention in sending me your book, and acknowledge myself much instructed by the perusal of its various contents. If it were possible for me to be present at the discussion of the Catholic question in the House of Lords, I could add nothing of essential importance to the train of reasoning pursued in my Charge, which I published in 1808; nay, I might be obliged, in some degree, to lessen its force, from an unexpected circumstance which has occurred since its publication.

" My opinion respecting the *Veto* is this: — 'The appointment of the Irish Catholic bishops ought to be in the King, if they are to be paid by the state; and if they are to be paid by the Catholics themselves, it ought to be in them; but exclusive of all foreign influence, recommendation, or confirmation. If they do not accede to this, or to something similar to this, they will act on a *principle which I did not expect, nor can approve.*'

" The above is the opinion which I took the liberty to transmit to Lord Grenville, in March, 1810, after I had read his letter to Lord Fingall. It may not, probably, appear to many to be a just opinion, and I myself think it not *expedient* to be acted upon at this moment; but I am happy in seeing it confirmed, in a posthumous work of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, entitled 'Religion and Policy,' printed at the Clarendon Press, in 1811. In this work, the noble author comes to this conclusion: — That it is the duty of Catholic subjects in a Protestant country, of priests as well as of the laity, to abjure the Pope's supremacy, ecclesiastical as well as temporal.

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"I am far from wishing to see this duty enforced by the enactment of legal penalties; but the time, I think, approaches, when it will be admitted by enlightened Catholics themselves, to be a duty; and when that time is fully come, government will have no suspicions, learned individuals no apprehensions, and Protestant populace no prejudices against Catholic subjects.

"This time approaches; and its motion will be accelerated, if government permits every man to exercise, in the expected debate, his uninfluenced judgment. I have no expectation of a favourable issue at present, even on that supposition; but the Catholics, I trust, will be satisfied with the decision, though it should be unfavourable to their wishes; and wait till, by a continuance of their loyalty to the King, and of kindness towards their fellow-subjects, every prejudice against them shall be removed.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect,

"Your faithful and obliged servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

The day after I had sent the preceding answer to Sir John Cox Hippesley, I had the honour to receive a long and interesting letter on the Catholic question, from the Earl of Hardwicke, conveying an hope, that I would give my support to it either in person or by proxy. I returned immediately the subjoined answer: —

"My dear Lord, Calgarth Park, April 2d, 1812.

"My sentiments on the dangerous state of the empire so perfectly coincide with Your Lordship's, that I sincerely lament my

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inability to give assistance to the Catholic cause, either in person or by proxy. Various infirmities render it impossible for me to do it in person; and not having taken my seat in this parliament, my proxy would not be admitted.

"I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with the perusal of the enclosed copy of a letter to Sir John Cox Hippesley, who had written to me about a week ago, pressing me to go to town.

"I make no secret of my opinion: a cordial reception of Catholics and Dissenters into the bosom of the constitution, by the extinction of all disqualifications, is become necessary to secure the independence of the empire, and the safety of the country.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

Soon after this, I received a letter from the Marquis of Bute, informing me, that he had heard of there being a design of calling a county meeting, for the purpose of establishing at Cardiff a school on the plan of Dr. Bell, and expressing great anxiety to know how far my sentiments accorded with his own, which were in favour of universal toleration. I sent him the subjoined answer:—

"My Lord Marquis, Calgarth Park, April 15, 1812.

"ABOUT six weeks ago, I received a letter from Sir H. Moncrief Wellwood, requesting my permission to dedicate to me a Sermon which he had just then preached in Edinburgh, in support of the Lancasterian school established in that city. I trouble Your Lordship with the annexed copy of the letter which I sent

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by the return of the post, on the 28th of February last. From the perusal of it, Your Lordship will properly infer the perfect coincidence of my principles with respect to universal toleration, with your own. From what has lately taken place in various parts of the empire, I cannot help being of opinion, that certain zealous men in the Established Church have suffered their apprehension for its safety to outstrip all probability of danger arising to it, from the institution of either Lancasterian schools or auxiliary Bible Societies. The church is in no danger from Protestant or Catholic Dissenters; but the state must ever be in danger, from discontent breeding disaffection, whilst a large portion of its members is looked upon by Government with a jealous and repulsive eye.

"This is my opinion, and I have no hesitation in avowing it; but in this avowal, I would not be understood to claim any infallibility of judgment, or to impute to those who think differently, either *zeal without knowledge, political shortsightedness, or secularity of principle.*

"I have, &c.

"R. LANDAFF."

"My Lord, Carlton House, May 4th, 1812.

"IT affords me the greatest satisfaction, to have it in command from the Prince Regent, to make known to Your Lordship a circumstance, which he is sure will, on every account, afford Your Lordship equal gratification to that which he has himself experienced from it. After dinner yesterday at Carlton House, the conversation turned upon the general immorality and profligacy of the present day, when principles and opinions subversive of all

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religion and morality, were not only held by many, but studiously endeavoured to be instilled into the minds of others. One of the most violent of these, a Sussex Baronet, was mentioned by a Mr. Tyrwhitt, (who I believe is not unknown to Your Lordship,) as having uttered opinions in his hearing so infamous and atheistical, as to force him to leave the company, first, however, exacting from him a promise, that he would attentively peruse a book he should the next morning send him. That book was Your Lordship's Apology for the Bible; and yesterday the Baronet's answer was produced and read, expressive of the greatest thankfulness for having had it put into his hands, as it not only had decidedly and clearly proved the error and fallacy of every opinion he had before entertained, but had afforded him a degree of secret comfort and tranquillity, that his mind had previously been a stranger to. I have the honour to be, My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very much obliged and obedient servant,

"W. BRADDYLL."

Answer to Mr. Braddyll's Letter, May 8th, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"THE Prince Regent judges rightly of my character; for the circumstance which he has had the kind condescension to command you to make known to me, does indeed fill my heart with real joy. When the Apology for the Bible was first published, in 1796, I received many letters of thanks, not only from individuals, acknowledging the benefit they had derived from the perusal of it, but from public bodies in Ireland and America. I permitted many thousand copies of it to be printed in Great Britain, without

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any profit or wish of profit to myself, and yet I cleared above a thousand pounds by its publication; which sum, accruing from such a source, had my family been less, or my means of providing for it greater, I should have had the greatest satisfaction in consecrating to some work of charity; nay, I was so bent on doing this, that I drew up the subjoined inscription for it:

Rerum Universitatis Conditori Conservatorique
Deo optimo, maximo, unico;
Ob vitam mortalem sub ejus numine feliciter actam,
Ob spem vitæ immortalis ἐν Χριστῷ feliciter agendæ,
Hoc quantulumcunque grati animi monumentum,
Sacrum esse voluit
RICARDUS LANDAVENSIS.

"For the very obliging manner in which you have signified to me this instance of the Prince's remembrance of a retired bishop, I beg you to accept my best thanks, and to esteem me

"Your faithful friend and servant,

"R. LANDAFF."

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Wyvill, October 21st, 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"I HAVE seen your address to the Freeholders of Yorkshire, and perceive that it is written with such a distinct and enlarged view of public policy, and with such moderation of temper towards those who differ from you in sentiment, that I cannot resist the impulse I feel, of expressing to you the concurrence of my opinion to every part of it.

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"The struggle for the liberty of Europe, has been most nobly sustained by Great Britain, and might it not at this period be successfully terminated by our Government granting emancipation to the Catholics, and a repeal of the test and corporation acts to the Dissenters? These concessions would be more powerful means of defence, than all the conscriptions of our enemy can ever be to the contrary.

"Infirmities of various kinds have long obliged me to withdraw myself from the active policy of the country; but with life only can end my attention to the constitution, which you have the highest merit of having for many years so ably and honourably supported.

"R. LANDAFF."

Mr. Wyvill's Answer to the foregoing Letter.

"My Lord, Burton-Hall, Bedal, Oct. 31st, 1813.

"YESTERDAY I received the honour of Your Lordship's letter, and I hasten to return my most grateful acknowledgements of your kindness, in avowing with so much generosity your approbation of my late address to the freeholders of Yorkshire. That is a great and unexpected reward; and disappointed as I am by the dejected state of this country, I yet confidently anticipate the best effects from the concurrence of your sentiments with those which the address was calculated to promote.

"Mr. Fox proved the sincerity of his attachment to liberty, civil and religious, by the long service of thirty years, almost wholly spent in parliament, under the frowns of power; Your Lordship I believe has given a similar proof of your attachment

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to that best of causes. You have endured a similar proscription, from men who acted on the same unworthy motives, and the consequence has been almost the same; you have at Landaff been as long shut out from the road to the higher honours of the Church. But how much higher you have risen, by having obtained the undisputed dignity of virtue, benevolence, patriotism, and the true spirit of Christianity! Accept, My Lord, the assurance of my respect and regard, with my sincerest wishes that you may long enjoy the evening of life with health, and the general veneration of your country.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's faithful servant,

"C. WYVILL."

Mr. Wyvill I hope will pardon my vanity in publishing this letter. I am really proud of his honourable testimony to that political consistency of principle, which unites my name to that of Mr. Fox.

R. LANDAFF.

FROM this period the health of the Bishop of Landaff rapidly declined; bodily exertion became extremely irksome to him; and though his mental faculties continued unimpaired, yet he cautiously refrained from every species of literary composition. The

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example of the Archbishop of Toledo was often before him, and the determination as frequently expressed, that his own prudence should exempt him from the admonition of a Gil Blas.

He expired on the 4th of July, 1816, in the 79th year of his age; illustrating in death the truth of his favourite rule of conduct through life: "Keep innocency, and take heed unto the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last."

THE END.

ERRATA.

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12	*For* visiter, *read* visitor.
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